

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY IN THE CHURCHYARD.

It rather takes us by surprise that the supporters of the principle of Church Establishment should have seen fit to decide, as they appear to have done, upon concentrating all the forces at their command for a preliminary contest on Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burial Bill. They may be supposed to have maturely weighed both the advantages and disadvantages of this strategical movement. We should have supposed that the ground taken with a view to initiate national resistance to the separation of Church and State would be found far too narrow to admit of marshalling the hosts which follow the flag of ecclesiastical privilege, or of rousing in them that enthusiasm which is often the surest presage of victory. The Burials Bill was carried through its second reading a few weeks ago by a majority of seventy-one in the House of Commons. The first two clauses of it have been adopted in committee. Its operation, if placed upon the Statute-book, would be much less extensive than its opponents are willing to have it believed. It does not apply to places in which there is a public cemetery. It simply opens the churchyards of country parishes, where no other provision exists for the interment of the dead, to the funeral ministrations of those who do not conform to the Established Church. With a view to conciliation, Mr. Morgan assented to an arrangement by which such services should consist exclusively, where no published ritual is employed, of reading from the Bible, prayer, and singing of hymns. This is the case with which the political friends of the Establishment have made up their minds to go to the country. This is "the tyranny," "the injustice," and "the dishonesty," which they resolve, if possible, to crush. It is a parson's question, far more than a question for the people. But, no doubt, it is believed that the activity of the clergy will stimulate their flocks into spasmodic exertion.

We could hardly have imagined, but for the abundant evidence that has come before us, that so great a stir could have been made in so small a matter. The Church Defence Institution urgently requests Churchmen throughout the country to oppose "this most objectionable measure to the utmost of their power." The bill comes on again on the 17th of April, and it is proposed by its opponents, "in order to afford

time for simultaneous action throughout England," to hold meetings in all parts of the country for the purpose of passing resolutions in condemnation of it, and of adopting petitions to Parliament praying for its rejection. Conservative members are to be seriously advised by their constituents to be in their places in the House of Commons on the 17th proximo, and even Mr. Disraeli has thought it necessary to apologise for his accidental absence from the division on the second reading, and has volunteered his promise to move the rejection of the bill whenever the third reading of it shall be proposed. It will be seen, therefore, that the whole Conservative strength of the country is to be brought to bear upon this comparatively insignificant point. The cry, in all parts of the kingdom, is, "To arms!" Every staff-officer is busy in collecting such forces as will respond to his call. The Commander-in-Chief will take the direction of them, and there will be a general engagement, in which each party is expected to do the best it can for the accomplishment of its object.

We confess we shall be sorry to witness so great an expenditure of zeal and energy upon so narrow an issue. It will allow no scope for argument of the most instructive kind, as the question of disestablishment and disendowment pure and simple might have done, but it will bring into the field no end of petty sentimentalities and irritating prejudices. The great fundamental question which it involves to a very limited extent, can neither be defended nor assailed with moral advantage upon such an issue. It seems, however, to have been considered clever tactics by the opponents of Mr. Morgan's measure to regard it as a step towards disestablishment, and, in that character, to offer it most uncompromising resistance. The manoeuvre is by no means a novel one. It has been resorted to, and resorted to in vain, for obstructing every measure proposed to Parliament, from time to time, for relieving Dissenters from any practical grievance. No doubt, so far as it goes, every one of these measures of amelioration severed ties which had formerly strengthened the connection between Church and State. No doubt, either, that religious equality in our parochial churchyards will put an end to one of those clerical privileges which have grown up in the soil of the present system of ecclesiastical exclusiveness. But free ministrations at the interment of the dead in places where no public cemeteries exist, no more involve the principle of disestablishment than would the legalisation of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The truth is, the concession sought by Dissenters in this matter is so reasonable, so moderate, and so little calculated to give rise to animosities, that it can only be plausibly resisted by exaggerating its connection with ultimate principles. Unfortunately, like most other matters of this sort, it has come to assume all the conditions of a party struggle. If it had not, Mr. Disraeli would not have elected to put himself at its head. And since it seems his singular destiny to conduct every cause which he takes up to irremediable defeat, we are not without some hope that his determined adhesion to that of churchyard exclusiveness may be taken as a happy augury of its approaching dissolution.

The friends of religious equality, however, will not abandon their efforts in support of Mr. Morgan's measure, merely because its ad-

versaries choose to fight it under the pretext of resisting disestablishment. On the contrary, we make no doubt that they will at least imitate the energy evoked in obstructing their wishes. Petitions can be met by petitions. The influence of constituents upon members, with a view to secure their attendance, may be neutralised by similar influence exerted in favour of the bill. The logical ground upon which we stand is irrefragable. If we have not much to gain in such a contest as this we have very much to lose. It will not do to suffer ourselves to be beaten back by a merely temporary and factitious opposition. The order of the day to "be up and doing," may be annoying, but is imperative. Let us make good our position in this small matter, and we shall find ourselves more at liberty to address ourselves with unswerving resolution to the much greater one that remains.

SPIRITUAL GAME-LAWS.

It is related of an excellent clergyman that, having occasion once to denounce certain prevalent corruptions of the time, he wound up an eloquent condemnation with the words, "and this, my friends, is the so-called nineteenth century!" We acknowledge to having felt a temptation to a similar Hibernicism on reading the bill entitled, "The Facilities for Public Worship Act." In our simplicity, we had supposed that every Englishman had the right to worship under his own (metaphorical) vine and fig-tree, no man daring to make him afraid. And so we suppose he has, notwithstanding Mr. Beresford Hope's fear less this dreadful bill should make every Englishman's home "not only his castle, but his church." But probably few of our readers are aware that, though any other section of the Church may establish places of worship wherever they are supposed to be needed, members of the Episcopal Church are not permissive in England to set up any place for their worship except by permission of the incumbent of the parish. Some of our ablest politicians believe that the game-laws are the source of immeasurable mischief and crime in many parts of the country. But if it is unjust and mischievous to prevent any farmer from keeping down a plague of rabbits or hares without the consent of the squire, what is to be said of a system which makes any crusade against iniquity and godlessness dependent upon the caprice or the obstinacy of a single man?

We are, of course, aware that much evil may arise, and much waste of Christian charity may ensue, from the reckless multiplication of churches where they supply no want. Wesleyans and Presbyterians would, of course, have to consult the duly constituted authorities before they set up in any district a new congregation. Even Independents, who have no centralised ecclesiastical government, could not in such a movement be wholly regardless of the sympathy and approval of surrounding churches. But the peculiar evil of the spiritual game-laws which oppress the Church of England is this, that they make thousands of Englishmen, in other respects the proudest and most independent of mankind, abjectly dependent for the supply of their spiritual wants on one single man, whose interests are often opposed to theirs, and whom circumstances make practically irresponsible. Mr. Salt's exceedingly modest bill is intended to do away with this anomaly; and so far as it may be calculated to promote the freedom of spiritual life in the Episcopal communion it has our heartiest sympathy. We are only sorry that men who are quite as capable of judging of their spiritual requirements as we are of judging for them, should be compelled to apply to an assembly consisting largely of Nonconformists, and not without a sprinkling of unbelievers, to enable them to do

what they ought to be perfectly at liberty to do for themselves.

Putting on one side, however, for the present, any difficulty which we feel about the unfortunately necessary interference of Parliament in such matters, and fully recognising the good intentions of the bill, we quite agree with those members, who, in the recent debate, maintained that many improvements ought to be made in the terms of the measure if it is finally to pass, though our amendments might not perhaps coincide with those of others. From our point of view, we should think the limitation of the proposal to parishes which number more than 2,000 inhabitants to be objectionable, and in many cases fatal to its usefulness. Small parishes, as well as large, have clergymen imposed upon them without the consent of the worshippers being asked. And if it should turn out that the ministrations of the incumbent thus imposed upon them are wholly profitless, or even offensive, to a considerable section of the community, it does seem hard that they should have no alternative other than separation from the Church which they love. The possibility of establishing under such circumstances a temporary congregation with a clergyman of its own, might very likely be disagreeable to the incumbent, whom several of the speakers the other evening seemed to elevate into a kind of Lama; but we conceive it would be one of those annoying contingencies which sometimes exercise a very salutary influence on the discharge of duty.

Again, we observe that by the fourth clause of this bill, "Any license granted by a bishop under this Act shall be revocable by such bishop or by any of his successors at any time."

Now we have far too much sympathy for the Church of England as a spiritual communion to desire any increase of facilities for the exercise of spiritual tyranny over its ministers or members. But if we understand the operation of this clause aright, any congregation which after much difficulty and at considerable expense had succeeded in obtaining the spiritual instruction which they require, might, at any moment, without any cause assigned, and without any remedy against the bishop, be deprived of the only means of grace which they feel to meet their needs. The succession of a new bishop often involves a change of Episcopal policy in the diocese, but according to this clause a narrow-minded successor to the sacred office might of his own mere whim undo and destroy the good which had been effected by the liberality of a predecessor. Again, we think that the marked distinctions of rank in the ministry of the Anglican Church—distinctions startlingly incongruous with the words of the great Master—have hardly worked so well as to afford any justification for multiplying the shades of difference. The contempt of the butler in *Punch* for the "inferior orders of clergy," whose salary his master had presumed to compare with his, was one of those jests in which "many a true word is said." And we think that the position described under the bill—a position in which ministerial duty is to be strictly limited to the performance of such offices and services as may be dictated by the bishop—a position, in fact, which is carefully defined so as to secure for it as much as may be of the work, and as little as possible of the pay—is scarcely a post which a clergyman with much self-respect would desire to accept. Indeed, we cannot but remark, with sorrow and with shame, that in this, as in many other attempts at ecclesiastical reform, the real rights which are so jealously guarded for that sacred person, the incumbent, are the rights of the breeches pocket.

It is amazing—we might almost say amusing—to find Mr. Beresford Hope's alarm at the idea of the discordant doctrines which under this bill might be introduced into the happy family of the parish. A Ritualist may be emulating the Church of Rome in one ecclesiastical district, and at the distance of a mile, but in another parish, a Low-Church clergyman may be denouncing him as an emissary of the Scarlet Lady; but to allow the discontented in either district to bring to their own doors the sort of teaching that they prefer—*Proh pudor!* this would be an outrage which not the most sacred claims of the people most concerned could for a moment justify. When will the faithful members of the Anglican communion realise that the only way to save their influence over an alienated population is to look the facts in the face, and to prove the vitality of their system by accommodating it to the needs of the times? When once they manfully make up their minds to this, they will welcome disestablishment as the first step to the emancipation of their energies.

A remark made by Mr. Monk, in seconding Mr. B. Hope's amendment, reminds us of a subject which may well cause some little uneasiness as to the increasing tendency to priestly

intermeddling in the legislation of the country. Mr. B. Hope himself had condemned the bill because it was introduced "without consulting the heads of the Church, without consulting Convocation"; and Mr. Monk reminded the House that Convocation was now engaged in "preparing a measure on the subject, which would shortly be laid before Parliament." It is surely high time that we should call to mind what is this relic of middle-age darkness which thus presumes to claim a share in legislating on what, so long as the Established Church exists, must be regarded as national questions. Convocation is in no sense a popularly representative body. The people who elect the Lower House are an exclusive caste, appointed to their positions of privilege for the most part by men who have little or no sympathy with the people; and to ask that great popular measures of legislation shall stand still until it pleases such a body to "lay their measures before Parliament," is an arrogant assumption of priestly domination which cannot be too earnestly and emphatically repudiated. The people of England, busily occupied with great commercial and political questions, are indeed often too blindly indifferent to the religious interests involved in the ecclesiastical discussions of Parliament. But they are not fallen so low that they will quietly allow the preparation of important Acts to be taken out of their hands by an irresponsible Debating Society like Convocation.

We repeat that we are by no means opposed to any measures which promise increased liberty of religious action, and therefore a new impulse of spiritual life to the members of the Church of England. But so long as our position as Englishmen requires us to take our part in the discussion of such measures, we feel it our duty to protest against any subsidiary provisions which seem to us adverse to the rights of Christian people, and dangerously suggestive of priestly prerogative. The greater the liberty that is given to the spiritual life of the Church, the better shall we be pleased; for that must hasten on the day when our work will have been accomplished, and the members of an emancipated Church, supplying their own spiritual needs by the Divine law of self-sacrifice, may be left to manage their affairs as they please.

ECCELESIASTICAL NOTES.

THE debate on the second reading of the bill introduced by Mr. Fawcett for opening Dublin University to persons of all creeds, so as to give to that great educational institution an entirely unsectarian character, is taking place while this journal is being issued. The amendment moved by Mr. Synan is reported to have the support of the Government; in other words, the Government is said to be as unprepared as it was last year to move in the direction of religious equality. This subject will have to be dealt with hereafter, and we notice it now only to call attention to the remarkable fact of our having found an ally in the *Standard* newspaper. Our Tory contemporary writes, for once, like a Liberal, nay, like a Radical. It suggests that this bill is to be opposed because it preserves the independence and freedom from State control of the University. "The University endeavours to escape the clutches of the Ultramontane party, and to maintain that intellectual eminence which it has so long enjoyed." Then it is truly enough added,—"A reconstitution of Dublin University was an inevitable consequence of Mr. Gladstone's destruction of the Irish Church. That that reconstitution shall establish Ultramontane ascendancy is the aim of Cardinal Cullen; and that the present bill defeats." There are some minor educational questions involved in this measure, but the greater question is whether the educational policy of the Government in Ireland shall be dictated by the Ultramontane party. The issue is an extremely grave one, and we wish that, even for a day, we could foreshadow it.

Lord Shaftesbury's Ecclesiastical Courts Bill has rather unexpectedly passed through the Lords' committee. It had, however, to sustain a heavy attack. Lord Salisbury began the onslaught with detailed criticism, asking especially how the 31,000*l.* required by the bill was to be raised. Vicitation fees, he remarked, amounted to 10,000*l.* a year, and Lord Salisbury showed the nature of his belief in Churchmen by expressing his opinion that if any person imagined that churchwardens in country parishes would go on paying these fees out of their own pockets, that person had a different idea of the British farmer from any he had been able to acquire. He next ridiculed some of the ceremonies at episcopal consecrations, attacked certain fees payable by the clergy, said, that only marriage fees were to be relied upon, and asked what was the financial aspect of the bill? Lord Shaftesbury could defend

himself upon this point, but the objections were endless. Lord Cairns urged others, Lord Beauchamp others, and the bill was considerably cut up and mutilated; but it went through after all, although in what shape very few persons could tell. It is now down for a third reading to-morrow. Happy Nonconformists, who have no need of diocesan or other courts, or of any Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, and who have no "fees" to levy or to receive! Would it be possible to obtain a return of the "fees" of the apostles in their ecclesiastical courts?

As will be seen by our ecclesiastical intelligence, the Church spirit is reviving after the same style as the revival of some ten or more years ago. The order appears to have gone forth to create as much disturbance as possible at Liberation meetings, and some meetings have certainly been considerably disturbed. But there is disturbance also within the ranks of the Church defenders. A meeting of this party has recently been held at Newcastle, when Mr. Hammond, a Churchman, spoke strongly in favour of Church reform. This gentleman's remarks were not, however, particularly well received, nor can we wonder at this when we read his very plain-spoken speech. Here is a bit of it:—

If the laymen of the Church of England were to be called upon to assist the clergy in preserving their magnificent revenues and privileges—"Oh, oh," followed by ironical laughter and applause)—well, gentlemen might laugh, but it only showed that they did not understand the question. ("Order," and loud laughter.) What he wanted to say was that if the laity had to co-operate with the clergy in a defence fund, they ought to be in a position to make the Church perfectly unassailable and unapproachable in its position. But what were the facts? He did not wish to be personal, or detract from any man's merits; but while they had a living in Gateshead held by a man who enjoyed two or three other emoluments, and who had a residence at Durham for six months in the year—(Hissses, "order," and great disapprobation)—gentlemen might hiss or do what they pleased, but if he was out of order the mayor would set him right. He maintained that so long as they allowed revenues, and patronage, and honours, to be held by one person to the amount of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* per annum, while others were only drawing a pittance year by year, which an ordinary foreman at Stephenson's or Hawthorne's could more than double, they had no right to expect the laity to join in any fund for the defence of such grievances. ("Order," and disapprobation.) Why, in a place not fifty miles from Morpeth, there was a rector with 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year, who regularly spent five or six months away from his charge, and who left the real work of the parish to be done by a curate, with something like 100*l.* or 150*l.* for his compensation. ("Question, question.") When the two boys of this poor fellow had to be sent to school, his only servant was compelled to be dismissed, his wife had to perform all the domestic duties of the household, and the man had to beg and pray for two free exhibitions to a school, which could be named if necessary. ("Question," and disapprobation.) Everything had latterly been reformed except their much-abused Church, and hence he would ask if it had to fall because the clergy were not alive to the importance of the present crisis? The laity could not be expected to have confidence when so many evils were daily brought before them. Until there was a prospect of some reform, he could not help thinking that the proposal for a branch defence association was inopportune. ("No," and "Sit down.") There were many things the laity ought to know, and not the least important was whether they should have a voice in the selection of their own clergymen. ("No, no," "Certainly not," and disapprobation.) Well, it would have to come some day, and it was only a fair and right proposal; but if the clergy themselves opposed such a change, it would seem as if they desired no reform at all, and that they were anxious only to have the revenues of the Church protected. (Uproar and applause.)

The argument for equal rights in churchyards has brought out a curious suggestion from a writer in the *Church Review*, who, admitting that the pressure of circumstances is on the side of the Dissenters, suggests a remedy, viz., that no denomination, Episcopalian or other, should conduct a service in the burial-ground. He is of opinion, as regards the Church, that no principle would be involved in saying in church the prayers that are now read at the grave, and then he adds:—

If both Churchmen and Dissenters were to agree to increase and confine their religious services to the house of the departed, and the church or meeting-house which the deceased frequented, neither could complain of material injustice. If Dissenters are really desirous of peace they would accept the sacrifice on the part of the Church; and Churchmen, if they are sincere, would cheerfully submit to the painful wrench from old associations, both for the sake of not inflicting unnecessary pain on their Dissenting brethren, and for the sake of avoiding scenes and sounds in their loved and peaceful graveyards which would inevitably pain them very deeply. It will be a noble opportunity of self-denial for all.

Without, for the present, commenting upon this suggestion, we may accept it as of a friendly and amicable character.

The Central Nonconformist Committee at Birmingham held a meeting on Monday, at which a report concerning the proceedings of the last sixteen months was presented. The main point of the report had in view practical political action. It was remarked that opportunity had been taken to arouse Nonconformists in various parts of the

country to a sense of their duties and responsibilities with regard to Parliamentary elections. In some cases candidates had been returned pledged to a thorough application of the principles of religious equality, and in others feeble Liberals had been defeated by the abstention of Nonconformists. It was most desirable that on every election Nonconformists should test the candidates with regard to the principle of religious equality. That, however, could only be accomplished by the complete organisation of Nonconformists of every constituency. The Rev. J. J. Brown, in moving the adoption and publication of the report, congratulated the meeting especially upon the success of the committee in regard to the endowed schools. Mr. Chamberlain made a vigorous speech upon the whole question, reminding the meeting that, while it had been said that the councils of Nonconformists were divided, that was a statement that would be tested at the next general election. Mr. Forster's recent speech was condemned, and it was decided to go on. We have no doubt that our friends will go on.

The education question seems to be cropping up everywhere. We have commented upon what has been done in Prussia, and now we have something about one of our smallest North American colonies, to wit, New Brunswick. Last May the Legislature of the colony passed an Act making provision for common schools, which seems to have been working pretty well. But, says an American contemporary:—

Before the law has had a fair chance to prove its efficiency, an agitation has been set on foot for its repeal. This agitation is the work of the Roman Catholics, who constitute about one-third of the population of the province, and who demand their share of the public money for separate schools. A few politicians who are disaffected with the present Government of the province, and a number of sordid souls who are opposed to the slight increase of taxation made necessary by the new system, have united with the Roman Catholics, and there will be a vigorous assault during the coming session of the Legislature upon the Common School Act. The friends of the law are preparing themselves to meet this attack; but they do not disguise to themselves the power of the combination with which they are to contend.

This is, as it is everywhere, a battle between ecclesiasticism and spiritual liberty, and the sooner they decide it in England the better will it be for all the world.

PETITIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE BURIALS BILL.

It being thought desirable that the petitions in opposition to Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill should be met by counter petitions, we give a form and directions:—

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of _____ in the county of _____ [or members of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembling at _____ in the county of _____]

Sheweth:—That your petitioners are very desirous that all sections of the community should be placed on an equal footing in regard to the burial of the dead in the churchyards of the country; instead of its being allowed to the minister of the Church of England to conduct a funeral service therein, while all other ministers are excluded. That such a restriction does not exist in Scotland or in Ireland, and your petitioners see no reason why it should exist in England.

That its abolition would afford great satisfaction to large classes of the people, and would, they believe, inflict injury on none.

They therefore pray that the Burial Laws Amendment Bill may become law.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Preparation of Petitions.—As the resemblance of petitions to each other is, in every case, reported upon by the Petition Committee of the House of Commons, it is important that the forms used should be as varied as possible. The subjoined forms are, therefore, furnished simply by way of suggestion, and as an assistance in the preparation of others. Petitions must be written, and not printed or lithographed. They must conclude with a prayer. They must not contain erasures or interlineations.

Signing of Petitions.—At least one signature must be attached to the sheet on which the petition is written; and the sheets containing the other signatures should be pasted on to follow, so that the whole may form a roll. Except in the case of sick persons, no one must sign for another. Petitions may be signed by females; but it is not desirable that they should be signed by minors. Except in the case of small places, it is well to add the addresses to the names.

Presentation of Petitions.—Petitions may be sent post-free, if they are sent open at the ends, are addressed to a member of Parliament, and are marked, "Petition to Parliament." It is desirable that they should, as a rule, be presented by a member representing the locality from which they emanate; and that, when the petition is posted, he should be informed of the fact by letter. The town addresses of members may be ascertained on application to the Liberator Society; or communications may be addressed to the "House of Commons, London."

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE RURAL PARISHES.

With the *Nonconformist* of January 3rd we gave in a Supplement a full analysis of the reports and evidence contained in the Blue-books relative to the physical and moral condition of the village population of England. To complete the case, especially in respect to the working of the Established Church in those districts, information is required relative to the religious condition of the people in those localities. Here, unfortunately, we cannot fall back upon Parliamentary documents. There are no such official records available. But this want may, to some extent, be met in another way. At all events, we propose to make the attempt. Already we have a good deal of information available for the purpose, and, with a view to obtaining additional facts, we shall be much obliged by the co-operation of all who are interested in the subject.

The points in regard to which the assistance of friends in country districts will be most valuable are briefly as follows:—The extent and character of the church accommodation; and, where the Establishment fails adequately to promote the moral and religious welfare of the population, the reasons of that failure—such as the incapacity, indifference, exclusiveness, non-residence, or ecclesiastical tenets of the clergy; and the condition of the people in regard to social life, intemperance, crime, or immorality. It is important to know, further, whether the Established clergy, or those associated with them, to any extent use their influence to suppress Nonconformity, or to thwart its efforts to promote the religious welfare of the population; and how far the activity of the Free Churches of all denominations, or others, outside the State-Church supplies, and to what extent, the deficiencies of the Establishment. Any other local facts, not embraced in the foregoing, which might be regarded as fairly illustrating the practical working of the Establishment, would also be of essential service.

There is no doubt that abundant information of this kind—thoroughly genuine and well-authenticated—is in possession of Dissenting ministers in our villages, the secretaries of county associations, and laymen actively engaged in religious or philanthropic movements. For the sake of the object in view, we shall rejoice if they can see their way to make some sacrifice of time and labour in order to facilitate it. This may be done, not only by written communications (which would be the more easily available if written only on one side), but by forwarding to us printed reports—such as those of district associations—bearing on the matter under investigation. It is almost needless to add that specific facts will be of greater value than general statements, and that all exaggeration and misrepresentation should be scrupulously avoided.

Whatever material may be sent to us in response to this appeal will be regarded as confidential, and will be so dealt with as to compromise no one. It must also be regarded as placed in our hands to be used entirely at our discretion, and in the form that seems to us best adapted to further the object in view. If such information, used impartially and in a suitable form for publicity, should not be regarded as authoritative by the supporters of the Establishment, we have confidence that it will be accepted by unprejudiced persons as throwing much light upon the spiritual condition of the districts to which it refers; and we are not without expectation that, while it will serve to show the injurious working of the Establishment in a large number of our rural parishes, it will also be an indirect means of promoting their amelioration.

May we kindly request that all letters, reports, and other documents on the subject are forwarded not later than Wednesday, the 27th of March—as much earlier as is convenient. The result of all the information obtained from a variety of sources—well digested and put into suitable form—we propose to give in a special supplement to our number of Wednesday, April 10th, which we shall have much pleasure in forwarding to all friends who may favour us with their communications.

NONCONFORMITY IN THE COURTS OF LAW.—It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, and one which probably never occurred before, that all but one of the high officers of State at the present Lancashire assizes are Dissenters. Mr. Justice Lush, the high sheriff, Mr. Thomas Wrigley, the deputy high sheriff, and the foreman of the grand jury, Mr. Thomas Barnes, are all Nonconformists, as were also several other gentlemen of the grand jury. Mr. Justice Mellor is a member of the Church of England, though of Nonconformist extraction.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

THE STATE-CHURCH ROUGHS AGAIN.

The riotous proceedings which signalled Mr. Odger's recent visit to Reading were repeated, in a mild form, on Monday, in connection with a lecture by Mr. Carvell Williams, on "Church Reform or Disestablishment?" There was a large meeting in the Town Hall, and three-fourths of the seats were filled by ladies and gentlemen who had been admitted by tickets; and who, with two or three exceptions, behaved admirably. At the end of the room, however, was a body of persons, mostly boys and young men, who had evidently responded to a letter in the Tory paper, urging the friends of the Church to come and hear Mr. Williams's "inflammatory harangue," and act as the circumstances of the case required. They, however, did not wait to hear anything, but gave a taste of their quality even while Sir Peter Spokes, the chairman, briefly introduced the lecturer. We need not describe in detail what followed. Mr. Williams was interrupted before he had spoken six sentences, and the interruptions were continued at intervals all the way through. Hisses, cheers, cries of "That's a lie!" "What business have you here?" and sundry other exclamations, intelligible or otherwise, with occasional stanzas of "God save the Queen," and now and then a scrimmage, resulting from an effort to turn out some of the disturbers, accompanied the lecturer pretty nearly during the hour and ten minutes for which he spoke. It was, however, all unavailing to prevent the delivery of the lecture; for Mr. Williams pertinaciously stuck to his text, and what he was not allowed to say one minute said in the next. At the close E. West, Esq., of Caversham, moved, and the Rev. J. Wood seconded, a vote of thanks to him; and on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Page, the chairman was also thanked; and in the course of these closing proceedings some severe things were said on the conduct of the disturbers. But instead of desisting, they prepared for a renewal of the disorder outside the hall, where a great and noisy mob assembled to await the departure of the occupants of the platform. It was, therefore, thought prudent to wait awhile, but the waiting game being played by the other side also, it was resolved to make a way through the crowd with the aid of the police, who mustered strongly for the purpose. Just as Mr. Williams, accompanying the ladies of Sir Peter Spokes's family, was about to enter the carriage in waiting, there was an "ugly rush," which for a moment threatened to carry people off their legs, but a vigorous movement of the police enabled the party to drive off in safety, though the carriage was for a street's length followed by a half-howling, half-cheering mob. Sir Peter gallantly walked to his residence in the midst of the throng, well guarded by the police, and the noisy crew, after making a final uproar at his gates, took their leave, and dispersed over the town.

STORMY MEETING AT WATERFOOT.

On Tuesday evening last a public meeting was held at the Brougham Assembly Room, Waterfoot, Lancashire, under the auspices of the Liberator Society, to take into consideration the advisability of disestablishing and disendowing the Church of England. The meeting excited very great interest throughout the district, more especially as discussion was invited, and at an early hour the Church and Conservative party mustered in considerable force, and devoted themselves with great vigour to continual hooting, howling, and various other demonstrations in disapprobation of the speeches. Mr. Henry Cunliffe presided, and was supported by Mr. G. Kearley, agent of the Liberator Society; the Revs. J. Howe, R. Nicholls, D. Davies, J. Crompton, S. F. Williams, A. J. Parry, and D. George; Messrs. W. B. Syme, J. Perkins, and others. The large room, which holds about 500 persons, was crowded to excess, and it was evident from the first that the great mass of the meeting was with the Liberatorists, the opposition rendering itself much more conspicuous by the uproar it created than by the greatness of its numbers.

After a few words from the chairman advising orderly discussion, Mr. Kearley proceeded to deliver his address, in the course of which he was considerably interrupted. The meeting was next addressed by the Rev. John Howe, the Rev. R. Nicholls, the Rev. J. Crompton, the Rev. D. Davies, and the Rev. S. F. Williams, the last speaker being greatly disturbed by the noise of opponents. After some discussion relative to a phrase used by Mr. Kearley, which he offered to withdraw if it grated on the feelings of any present, Mr. Touchstone, of Manchester, moved:—

That, as the tithes, glebes, and other endowments which the Established Church holds are her own property, and were not given to her by the State, it is therefore resolved that she has a legal and moral right to them; and this meeting considers the action of the Liberator Society most unjustifiable and dishonest.

He criticised the statements made by the speakers on the other side, calling attention to the way in which they attempted to deprive the Church of her property, while not one of them had even attempted to prove that the property did not belong to the Church. He objected most emphatically to a man like George Potter being considered at all competent to give an honest opinion as to the Church or her property, seeing that only a few days ago, at a meeting in Derby, he had stated that the Church

was in the receipt of upwards of ten millions a year, and this was paid out of the taxes. [Mr. Kearley expressed his belief that the report was false.] He did not believe in the hypocritical pretensions of his opponents, who were ever telling the people that they would respect vested interests.

Mr. W. Mitchell, in seconding the motion, while admitting with sorrow that there were faults in the Church of England, as there was in everything human, contended that this was no excuse for robbing the Church of her property. The Chairman then proceeded to put the amendment, whereupon the Church party in possession of the front of the room jumped upon the forms and cheered and waved their hats for some minutes; and when the resolution was presented, the bulk of the meeting in the body and back of the hall followed their example—a forest of hands appeared, followed by an outburst of cheering, and waving of hats again and again renewed. The Chairman declared the resolution carried. Mr. Touchstone protested against the ruling, and the friends with him shouted, "It's a lie!" The meeting then broke up with considerable uproar.

This meeting is commented upon at length in the *Bacup Times*, which congratulates the Liberation party upon its success on this occasion. The *Bury Times* also reports the proceedings at great length, and so do the *Bacup and Rossendale News* and the *Manchester Courier*. The last two journals report the close as follows:—

Mr. Touchstone, approaching the chairman, demurred to this decision, and suggested that those in favour of the amendment should go on one side of the room, and the supporters of the resolution on the other. The result of this movement was more convincing than before, and enthusiastic cheers at once broke forth that were in vain attempted to be suppressed. The victory was complete, and rounds of cheers were given for Church and State, the Queen, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, Mr. Touchstone, and Mr. Mitchell. The National Anthem was then sung, and the meeting separated.

THE REV. CHAS. WILLIAMS AT MELTHAM.—A lecture was delivered in the Oddfellows' Hall, Meltham, on Monday evening, March 4, under the auspices of the Liberal Association, by the Rev. C. Williams, of Accrington. The subject of the lecture was "The Church Property and its Political Aspects." The hall was quite full. In the absence of Mr. J. Woodhead, of Huddersfield, who was expected to preside, Mr. Coldwell, the president of the association, occupied the chair, and introduced the lecturer in a few appropriate remarks. The rev. gentleman's lecture was listened to throughout with great attention, and was repeatedly cheered very heartily by the audience, but a few groans were occasionally heard amongst the expressions of approval. At the close of the lecture some discussion took place, followed by a good deal of noise and confusion, got up by some Conservative young men. The *Huddersfield Examiner* says:—

Some employers appeared also very active in exciting a disturbance. During the disturbance many left the hall; but, with the exception of a little interruption created by two or three noisy lads, the proceedings were not afterwards much interrupted. Mr. Joseph Taylor moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, and Mr. B. Crocker, who in a short speech censured most severely, and deservedly, the conduct of the disturbers, seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously. The lecturer very cordially acknowledged the vote of thanks. Mr. Williams moved, and Mr. Scott seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman. Mr. Scott, in his remarks, referred to the striking contrast there was between the conduct of the Liberals and that of the Conservatives at the public meetings held in that hall; and stated that, whoever might be the speaker on the Conservative side, whether a Touchstone, a Stanhope, or a Stanley, not a single Liberal ever attempted to disturb the meeting; and if one of the members of the Liberal Association attempted to do such a thing as (Mr. Scott) would most certainly be an advocate for his being struck off the list of members. The motion was unanimously passed, and duly acknowledged by the chairman. This being the first lecture ever delivered in Meltham by the Liberation Society, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a little opposition on the part of the Churchmen.

Mr. Williams has also lectured at Newport, Monmouthshire, and at Merthyr Tydvil, but we are obliged to postpone any notice of these meetings.

WORKING MEN'S MEETING AT HULL.—On Tuesday evening Mr. George Potter delivered a lecture, under the auspices of the Hull Reform Union, at the Protestant Hall, Kingston-square. The subject was "The Disestablishment of the English Church." The chair was occupied by Ald. Dowling, who, in introducing the lecturer, said he had come to advocate a movement which, if carried, and carried it would be, would tend to the advancement and prosperity of the Protestant religion throughout the land. He (the chairman) would not sanction anything tending to overthrow the Church of England. But whilst the Church was fettered by the State she would not make that advancement in the world in her great and high mission which she ought to make. Mr. Potter having delivered his address, after some remarks from Mr. Darnley, a man named Young got upon the platform to address the meeting, but he was not allowed a hearing, yelling and hissing entirely drowning his voice. A gentleman on the platform jerked him by the coat in order to attract his attention. He turned round, and there was every appearance of a pugilistic encounter taking place, but the speaker was restrained. He then turned round and commenced talking, but the audience would not hear him. The chairman expostulated, and tried to induce him to retire, and ultimately the gentleman before mentioned took him by the coat, and

forcibly put him from the platform by one of the side-doors. On the gentleman's reappearing he was received with yells, hisses, and other signs of disapprobation. He attempted to obtain a hearing, and explain his conduct, but without success, and was obliged to retire. On order being somewhat restored, the following resolution was moved by the Rev. J. Sibree:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, religious equality is essential to just Government, and cannot exist under a State-Established Church, and that this meeting therefore expresses its cordial approval of the efforts of Mr. Miall and others in seeking to obtain the disestablishment of the English Church, and request the borough members to support Mr. Miall's motion for a committee of inquiry into the revenue of that Church.

Mr. Stuart seconded the resolution, which was carried.

NONCONFORMISTS AND THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE CENTRAL NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE.

A meeting of Nonconformists was held on Monday, at the Lecture Room, Carr's-lane Chapel, Birmingham, to receive a report, &c., from the Central Nonconformist Committee, and to appoint a new committee. Mr. W. Middlemore presided; and amongst those present were the Rev. H. W. Crosskey and Mr. R. W. Dale (hon. secretaries), Mr. C. Vince, Revs. G. B. Johnson, J. Gordon (Evesham), J. J. Brown, W. F. Callaway, R. Ann, and J. M. McKerron; Aldermen Manton and Holland; Professor Massie, Dr. Deane; Messrs. J. S. Wright, J. Chamberlain, J. Collings, J. Williams, J. C. Woodhill, B. Jones, (Wolverhampton), S. A. Bindley, Wallis, Ingall, Shobotham, W. Hudson, Daniel, Mander, T. J. Moore, Harris, Rutherford, and Kneebone; and Mr. Schnadorst, secretary. For a report of the proceedings we are indebted to the courtesy of the editor of the *Birmingham Post*.

The CHAIRMAN, after reading a number of letters of apology for non-attendance, said the audience would find the report which would be read a record of steady, earnest, and, he hoped, useful labour on behalf of the great principles the society represented. He then referred to the Manchester Conference as making an epoch in the history of Nonconformity, and quoted some of the resolutions passed. That which referred to the Endowed Schools Act was spoken of in connection with the scheme of the Commissioners for regulating the Birmingham Grammar School—that scheme, he said, being open to all the objections laid down in the resolution, as well as many others. The difficulties in the way of an equitable settlement would be materially lessened if the selection of the twenty-four governors were left to the town council, with the addition that in the first instance six of the body were taken from the present governors. In their struggle for religious equality the committee were sustained by the conviction that they were working for their country as well as for themselves—that they belonged to a party which, though often repulsed, had never been finally defeated, and that they were aided by a growing public intelligence, and by a more general diffusion of just principles. (Applause.)

The Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY read the report, of which the following is an abstract:—

In presenting to their constituents a report of their operations during the past sixteen months, the committee recalled the circumstances under which their work commenced, referred to the political organisation, and the subsequent action taken with reference to the formation of school boards, and of the New Revised Code, 1871, and the payment of fees. In response to urgent requests from many quarters, the committee undertook the duty of watching the proceedings of the commissioners for the endowed schools, in the interests of Nonconformists. In many instances the commissioners had manifested a conciliatory spirit, but the general principles upon which they had acted, and by which they seemed determined to abide, were, in the judgment of the committee, calculated to further the interests of the Established Church at the expense of the community. The committee were, therefore, not disposed to relax their efforts until such an amendment of the Act itself had been secured as should give guarantee that in the reorganisation of the educational endowments of the country equal justice should be meted out to all classes, without distinction of religious profession. The proposals of the Government with regard to Scotch education, especially as they affected the general principles of educational legislation for the United Kingdom, had occupied much of the attention of the committee. The report recapitulated the objections raised by the committee to the Scotch Bill, and stated that they succeeded in arousing the attention of the friends of religious freedom in Scotland to their objections, and several hundreds of petitions were presented against the bill. The bill now before the House was in its religious provisions substantially the same as that of last year, although the conscience clause had been improved. The committee considered the bill more sectarian than even the English Act, and most dangerous as a possible precedent in regard to Irish education. Whilst the energies of the committee had been mainly engrossed by the working of the Elementary Education Bill, and the operations of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, they had not failed to take advantage of every opportunity for furthering the recognition of the principles of religious equality in legislation upon University questions. Opportunity had been taken to arouse Nonconformists in various parts of the country to a sense of their duties and responsibilities with regard to Parliamentary elections. In some cases candidates had been

returned, pledged to a thorough application of the principles of religious equality, and in others feeble Liberals had been defeated by the abstention of Nonconformists. It was most desirable that on every election Nonconformists should test the candidates with regard to the principle of religious equality. That, however, could only be accomplished by the complete organisation of Nonconformists of every constituency. Reference was next made in the report to the Manchester Conference, which was convened in compliance with a resolution passed at a meeting of members of the three committees of Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool. The temper, tone, and enthusiasm of the conference were as remarkable as its representative character, and the resolutions arrived at might be regarded with unqualified satisfaction. A common basis of action was unanimously agreed upon. Nonconformists of all parties were united in the firm resolution to hold by and promote, at all costs, the great object which inspired the conference through its deliberations—the complete and absolute legislative recognition of the principles of religious equality. The report concluded: "In reviewing their operations, your committee, it is true, are unable to point to any legislative successes, but they can record the gradual growth of public opinion in favour of the principles for which they are contending, a more general apprehension by Nonconformists of all denominations of the gravity of the issues at stake, and the development and growth of moral and political forces which are full of promise for the ultimate triumph of the principles of religious freedom."

The statement of accounts showed that the receipts had been 735*l.*, and that the balance remaining on the 31st December was 45*l.* A subscription of 100*l.* had been given towards defraying the expenses of the Manchester Conference.

The Rev. J. JENKYN BROWN moved:—

That the report now read be accepted, approved, and published.

In the course of his remarks, Mr. Brown said that in a meeting like that it was only right he should say that those town councillors who had shown by their votes that they were the representatives of religious liberty as well as social municipal liberties, merited their approbation and deserved their hearty thanks. They had actually eliminated the whole list of *ex-officio* governors from the endowed schools of this country, as much, he thought, to the governors' amazement as to the joy and gratification of the Nonconformists. (Laughter.)

The Rev. G. B. JOHNSON seconded the resolution, and it was carried.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN proposed:—

That the resolutions adopted by the Manchester Conference be accepted by this meeting as the basis of the Central Nonconformist Committee.

He said those resolutions carried to their logical conclusion the principles of freedom on which Nonconformity was based. They claimed the entire secularisation of national education, whether primary, secondary, or for the higher classes, and demanded the removal of all sectarian restrictions. They expressed disapproval of the policy of the Endowed School Commissioners, which tended to the Torifying and Churchifying of the whole of the endowed schools of the country. And they protested against the 25th Clause, now as notorious, and inasmuch as Nonconformists were assured they were inconsistent in claiming the removal of it while they were content to pay through the State taxes for denominational schools, they accepted the hint, and demanded the entire withdrawal of State money from denominational institutions. They demanded the application of their principles to Acts which affected marriages and burials, and expressed their entire concurrence with Mr. Miall's motion for the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church; and they went farther, and demanded that those principles which were applicable to England should be applied to the sister countries of Scotland and Ireland. Beyond this, the resolutions declared, first, that the State should in future confine itself to the secular education of the children, and leave religious instruction to voluntary effort; and secondly, that, seeing that the policy of the Government had been hostile to the interests of religious equality, and that every effort had been made in vain to induce the Government to reconsider its policy, the Nonconformists of the country should be appealed to to accept no representative who would not vote for the amendment of the Act. It seemed to him especially important to challenge the opinion of the meeting on these two last resolutions, for they were told that the conference at Manchester, large as it was, and influential as it was thought to be, had in no sense a representative character—(laughter)—and that the country was deceived by the rules made by the delegates at Manchester. It was said that the councils of Nonconformists were divided. What the real feeling of Nonconformists was would only be shown at the next general election. The conference pronounced for the entire separation of religious and secular education, and some of the speakers admitted that they had only recently come to that conclusion, and that they had arrived at it after hesitation, almost with reluctance. He did not think it was surprising some should have thought there was a middle way of attaining the double result of providing religious instruction for the young, and yet doing it in such a way as to do no injustice to any member of the community, and violate no one's conscience. But under present circumstances it was impracticable. The Roman Catholics had been tempted by the action of the Government and incited by arguments of the clergy to claim what they never had claimed so openly and candidly before, the most intensely dogmatic instruction to be given at the expense of the whole community. Whatever the Church of England was prepared to do, Nonconformists were determined to

refuse this; and they were all coming to the conclusion that the interests of religion would not be served by the slightest connection with the State. The conference at Manchester numbered hundreds of men whose whole lives were devoted to the service of religion, and it was childish to say that they could be proposing what was contrary to the very essence of their existence, and the pith and marrow of their whole work. (Hear, hear.) Nonconformists proposed complete separation of the secular and the religious—first, as to time, for the protection of those who were taught; secondly, as to cost, for the protection of those who paid for the teaching. The separation as to time was granted already. Only, it was not enough to grant the principle; they must make it effective in practice, and it was now too late to talk of a conscience clause, which was felt as an insult by those to whom it was offered. Churchmen were always making things concerning the Church into party questions, and why should they turn round on Nonconformists for humbly following their example? Their deputations and petitions were ignored, and the Government relied on their patience and long-suffering. They would deserve the contempt which had been lavished upon them if they were content to defer any longer principle to mere sentiment. Their faith was to the Liberal creed, and not to the Liberal party nor any Liberal Minister. If the Liberal party were broken up, it would not be because Nonconformists had deserted it, but because it had betrayed the principles entrusted to it. Once out of office, Mr. Gladstone would throw up his false friends, and if he would again raise the cry of religious freedom and equality, Nonconformists would again flock to his standard, and he would find them willing once again to give him a willing and unswerving allegiance. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JONES (Wolverhampton) seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. S. WRIGHT moved the reappointment of the committee. He said they were valued and respected in proportion to their political power; and, when the next election came, he hoped it would find them armed, and prepared to give effect to the principles which, for some time past they had earnestly avowed.

Mr. J. COLLINGS seconded the resolution. He said that the Government did not think Nonconformists were in earnest; when it did, it would be like the 'coon who, when pointed at by a gun, cried out, "Don't fire, colonel; I'll come down." (Laughter.)

The Rev. J. GORDON (Evesham) proposed, and the Rev. J. M. McKERRON seconded, this resolution:—

That this meeting heartily approves of the action of the committee with regard to the Scotch Education Bill now before the House of Commons, and in its opinion the provisions of the bill violate the principles of religious equality—first, by permitting school boards to use the revenues of the empire for the maintenance of sectarian teaching; secondly, by providing for the support by Parliamentary grants of denominational schools under private and irresponsible management; and thirdly, by compelling school boards to pay out of the rates the fees of children attending denominational schools.

After a few words from Mr. RUTHERFORD, Mr. R. W. DALE said that a fortnight ago he was in Edinburgh, and last week in Aberdeen, and his conviction was, that with the two great voluntary Churches of Scotland there was an amount of fidelity to the principles on which the Nonconformist Committee was established which had not yet found adequate public expression. It was felt in Scotland that there should be a movement founded on the principles of the Manchester Conference, and resting absolutely upon a religious basis; and many declared that it was not in the interests of religion that it should be kept distinct from the State. In the United Presbyterian Church, there were many who regarded the action taken by the recognised leaders of that Church with the most intense hostility. The decisions of the Presbyteries did not give a fair impression of the opinion which existed amongst the Churches themselves, and he looked forward to the great meeting of the Synod in May, to prove to some who imagined they were the pillars of the Church, that their support was gone, and that the opinion of the majority of the members was against them. (Hear, hear.)

On the motion of the Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY, seconded by Professor MASSIE, it was resolved—

That this meeting regrets the wholly unsatisfactory character of the statement made by Mr. Forster during the debate on Mr. Dixon's resolution regarding the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, which violate the consciences of Nonconformists, and resolves to do its utmost, in co-operation with other Nonconformist committees, to strengthen and extend the organisation of Nonconformists in every direction.

On the motion of Alderman MANTON, a vote of thanks to, and confidence in, Mr. Dixon and those who voted with him on his resolution was passed; and, on the motion of the Rev. W. F. CALLAWAY, seconded by Mr. C. VINCE, thanks were passed to the committee, and special thanks to the officers. A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the meeting.

MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

On Monday evening a meeting of Liverpool Nonconformists was held at Hope Hall, to consider the resolutions of the Manchester Conference, to receive a report of the Liverpool Nonconformist committee, and to reorganise the committee. Mr. William Crossfield occupied the chair; and there were also upon the platform the Revs. S. Pearson, M.A., R. W. Thompson, A. Gordon, H. S. Brown, Dr. Graham, R. H. Lundie, P. McPherson, W. K. Moore; and Messrs. W. J. Lamport, J. J. Stitt, J. Roberts, W. Crossfield, jun., H. W. Meade-King, T. Snape, E. Mounsey, A. Eccles, T. Han-

mer, Bryce Allan, E. Habershon, J. Patterson, G. Holt, John Rogers, J. Montgomery, W. Baird, T. Gair, J. Underhill, J. Reid, J. Baxter, A. Armour, G. Golding, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in the course of his opening speech, said that after the abolition of compulsory payment of church-rates, the Nonconformists hoped that they might have some peace; but the Elementary Education Act might be termed a double distilled Church-rate. The Nonconformists were sometimes considered very discontented, but they had reason to be discontented, and they meant still to be troublesome until they got their grievances redressed. (Applause.) It was a slander to say that they were irreligious, for both they and their Puritan forefathers could never be accused of being careless about religious teaching. What they asked for was that the State should only give secular instruction, leaving religious teaching to the various denominations.

Mr. T. SNAPS, honorary secretary to the committee, read a report describing in detail the action taken by the committee with reference to the Liverpool School Board, the deputations to Mr. Forster and Mr. Gladstone, and the steps taken conjointly with the Birmingham and Manchester committees in organising the recent Nonconformist conference. The report concluded by expressing the most confident assurance that the Nonconformists of Liverpool would be second to none of their brethren in other towns in the effort to promote the general adoption of the principles of religious equality. Appended to the report were the proposed rules of the association.

The Rev. R. WARDLAW THOMPSON then moved that the report, with the rules therein recommended, be adopted, and that the present committee, with power to add to their number, be appointed an executive to carry the new rules into effect. In doing so he urged the necessity of union among Nonconformists, which, if carried into effect, would give them a power to do the work which Nonconformists have to do in asserting their principles and carrying them into effect as men had never seen them carried into effect in this land. (Applause.) They must educate the country, and consequently they must unite and devise the best means whereby their strength might be husbanded, and the country might be informed what it was the Nonconformists wanted, and what they must have before they had done. (Applause.)

Mr. MEADE KING seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. S. PEARSON moved the following resolution:—

The Nonconformists of Liverpool, in public meeting assembled, having carefully considered the resolutions adopted by the Nonconformist Conference held at Manchester on the 24th and 25th of January, recognise in the objects sought to be attained the adoption and enforcement of the fundamental principles of religious equality, and resolve to use their utmost endeavours to secure the recognition and application of those principles in this neighbourhood.

They had, he said, arrived at a crisis in the history of Liverpool Nonconformity, and he hoped there would go from this meeting a calm and clear utterance of their opinion as to the way in which they had been treated by the so-called Liberal Government, and what their future relations with that Government were to be. (Hear, hear.) Their petitions had not been listened to, their representations had been disregarded, and notwithstanding the peculiar significance of the late school board election in Liverpool, resulting in the return of Dr. White—(applause)—he believed he was not wrong in prophesying that the school board would defy the distinct utterance given by the electors of Liverpool. With regard to the Legislature, he suggested that they had had enough, and more than enough, of protests; and he ventured to say that their utmost endeavour would not be reached unless they exercised the constitutional right of the franchise—(applause)—unless they made it clearly understood, according to the resolutions passed at the Manchester Conference, that except under the pressure of great national exigencies, no candidate for a seat in the House of Commons would receive their support who was not pledged to the principles of religious equality. (Hear, hear.) It was said that if they adopted this policy they would break up the Liberal party; but they could not have observed what had been going on in the Liberal party during the past few months without seeing that the Liberal party was already broken up. (Applause and laughter.) They wanted to find out who were the true Liberals and who were wolves in sheep's clothing. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LAMPORT, in seconding the resolution, dissented from the policy recommended by the preceding speaker. He could not but think they were blind to the political signs of the times who did not see the great danger which lay before them as Nonconformists was, not the retrograde step of bringing back a Tory Ministry, nor yet the continuance in office of a Liberal Ministry, but in the formation of a great Liberal-Conservative party, the principle of which they knew very well would be the maintenance of the Established Church, possibly with some reforms. (Applause.)

Mr. J. ROBERTS supported the resolution.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. ROBERT LOCKHART (Presbyterian), to the effect of disapproving of "the permission given to school boards by the Elementary Education Act to subsidise denominational schools," and agreeing to aim at the amendment of the Act "so as to permit school boards to pay fees for indigent children in elementary schools only in which a portion of the Word of God is read daily, and where human formulas of religion

are excluded." The speaker dwelt on the importance of retaining the Bible in the national schools, and pointed to the results of education in Scotland as favouring this view. The Rev. R. H. LUNDIE (Presbyterian) seconded the amendment, which was rejected by a large majority.

Mr. J. J. STITT next moved—

That the Liverpool Nonconformists most fully believe that the only solution of the religious difficulty in any scheme of national education will be ultimately found in the State making provision solely for secular instruction and in the responsibility of religious instruction being thrown on voluntary effort, and hereby resolve to exert all the influence in their power to gain for these views such extended support that Parliament will not longer refuse their adoption.

Mr. Forster, in the simplicity of his mind, imagined that there was no religious difficulty, but he (Mr. Stitt) thought that the later experience of the country had shown that Mr. Forster was hasty in the judgment which he had formed. The Act had already awakened great religious animosity in the country—(Hear, hear)—and it was of the utmost importance that the nefarious 25th clause should be expunged. With every love for the Bible, such was his regard for the consciences of others that he believed there was no other plan than that of making the teaching in the board schools entirely secular, leaving the Church to supply religious education. (Applause.)

The Rev. H. S. BROWN, in seconding the motion, remarked that he was a very decided advocate of denominational religious education, but he could not allow the Bible to be introduced into schools in the manner proposed and without explanation. He thought that the religious agencies at present in existence were fully competent to undertake the religious instruction of the children of this country, and he strongly objected to this duty being thrown upon the school boards, in the schools connected with which the education should be entirely secular. At the same time, the views he held were in the minority, and he was unable to look forward to the people of this country being very early converted to them.

The resolution was then carried, and, on the motion of the Rev. A. GORDON, seconded by Mr. E. MOUNSEY, a vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman.

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS ON THE CONTINENT.

A conference of the Old Catholic party was held at Bonn on Sunday, when nearly a hundred delegates from various towns were present. It was decided that a grand Congress should be held at Cologne in September next, and that a petition to the Reichstag against the Jesuits should be drawn up.

Prince Bismarck having beaten the Roman Catholic prelates collectively, is now about to deal with them individually. The Bishop of Ermeland, who excommunicated an Old Catholic clergyman of his diocese in defiance of ministerial warning, has been informed that the excommunication is illegal, and, if not removed, may lead to unpleasant consequences.

The *Daily News* Berlin correspondent says that, owing to the stand he has taken against the clergy, Prince Bismarck has become popular in Berlin to an extent that would scarcely have seemed possible three months ago. Addresses continue to reach him from all parts of the country. In reply to one sent him from Paderborn by a large number of Catholics, he repeats the assurance that it was far from the intention of the Government to provoke a conflict with the Catholic Church by means of the Schools Inspection Bill. The sole object was to combat those tendencies and influences which endanger the safety of the State and the internal peace of the country, and thus ultimately injure the Church itself.

"The Catholic Church may be sure," adds Prince Bismarck, "that in the future, as in the past, her legitimate pretensions will always find in Prussia that protection and support for which she has on so many occasions testified her gratitude to the State."

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the same subject, says:—

Many of the addresses date from Austrian and non-German towns, such as Vienna, London, New York. Not a few come from the Catholic districts of the south, and are signed by influential and well-to-do citizens. The Northern addresses are nearly all from Protestants; so stringent is the discipline lately exercised upon their flocks by the priests in these Prussia-Hanoverian latitudes. There can be no doubt that the Catholics on this side the Main are as advanced and independent in their views as those on the other bank of the old boundary river; but living in the immediate environs of the field in which the battle is going on, they are tightly kept in hand, and do not choose to avow contumacious sentiments in the teeth of their clerical overseers until they see whether the fray is serious enough to make it worth their while to take an active part in it. Let the ecclesiastical army carry on the war a little longer, and it will have no more bitter opponents than the educated classes of Rhineland, Westphalia, and Hesse. Of the Southern addresses the most remarkable is that from the Liberal majority of the Baden State Parliament, with Protestant and Catholic signatures in friendly companionship affixed to it. Like all others, it praises the Prince Chancellor for placing the welfare of the German Empire upon a solid basis—liberty of conscience, science, and culture.

One of the addresses to Prince Bismarck has a special interest. It appears that 500 years ago an ancestor of the present Bismarck was excommunicated by the Bishop of Halberstadt for founding a school in the town of Stendal, and refusing to place it under the direction of the Church. Referring to

this curious precedent in his family history, the corporation of Stendal have now thanked the Chancellor for imitating the example of his sturdy grandsire, and in token of their gratitude beg him to accept the freedom of their burgh. In his answer the prince admits that he is but continuing a fight begun many centuries ago, and now resumed under favourable auspices. Stendal is but a few leagues from his patrimonial estate of Schönhausen.

According to the *Börsen-Zeitung*, Cattowitz, in Upper Silesia, is just now occupied by a small body of Jesuits who are zealously combating the Old Catholic movement, and using the pulpit as a means of attacking the German Government and its Minister-President. They fight with commendable persistence, it says, four battles every day "with the Old Catholic Satan," and make use of both languages, that German as well as Poles may have the benefit of their ministrations. Exorcism and the distribution of Loyola water—a sovereign remedy against dangerous maladies and the devices of the devil—alternate with denunciations of those who have remained true to the Old Catholic faith; but as yet it does not appear that any success has attended their efforts.

French Ultramontanism has still misgivings about this being an opportune time for exacting from the Assembly a vote of sympathy with the Vatican, and it is being intimated that the Pope does not expect France to do anything which might compromise her with other nations. The discussion is adjourned till after Easter.

M. Junqua, a Catholic priest at Bordeaux, who is now being prosecuted for writing articles contrary to religion, has written a letter to Mgr. Donnet, stating that he considers the adherents to the dogma of Papal infallibility as no longer belonging to the true Catholic Church. M. Junqua declares that he and other protesting priests are depositaries of the traditions of the primitive universal Church. M. Junqua has formed at his house a committee of action in correspondence with other similar committees in France and abroad. It is stated that M. Junqua intends appealing to the population of Bordeaux.

A letter from Rome in the *Debats* states that the Pope recently ordered a solemn *triduum* to be celebrated in St. Peter's, by way of reparation to St. Peter and St. Paul for the doubts expressed a short time since as to their residence in Rome. The ceremony commenced on the 8th inst., and was attended, it is estimated, by from 8,000 to 10,000 persons. They are described as appearing to belong to the upper and middle classes. The members of the various religious bodies were in ecclesiastical dress. Regarding the manifestation as a purely religious ceremony, the Liberals kept away, and the proceedings passed off in the utmost tranquillity.

Dr. Guthrie was one of the speakers at a *soirée* in Paisley on Thursday night in favour of union between the Free, United, and Reformed Presbyterian Churches.

THE MOST SACRED OF CAUSES.—A letter has been published from Mr. Disraeli to the Archdeacon of Buckingham, in which the right hon. gentleman says, "My name is entirely at the service of the Church Defence Institution, and all the aid that I can ever afford to the best and most sacred of causes."

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.—The *John Bull* reports a meeting held on Friday under the presidency of Earl Beauchamp, of peers, members of Parliament, and representative clergy, to consider what course should be taken with reference to the Athanasian Creed. With the exception of one clergyman who objected to the use of the words "in its integrity," there was a unanimous determination to maintain the creed as it stands and in its present position. No less than five different memorials to the Lower House of the Convocations of Canterbury and York were drawn up for signature, all with one prayer for the maintenance of the creed, but assigning different reasons, one very brief to be signed by the laity generally, as suggested by Mr. Brewer; and while those of Archdeacon Churton and Canon Liddon drew special attention to the great schism an alteration would cause, one, drafted by the Marquis of Salisbury, inserted a special reference to the danger which an alteration would cause to the Establishment, an opinion stated to have been shared by the Prime Minister himself. There will be a rediscussion of the Athanasian Creed at the Convocation of Canterbury, which the Primate has convoked for the 23rd of April.

ARCHDEACON DENISON AND HIS PARISHIONERS.—Archdeacon Denison and his parishioners of East Brent (a local correspondent writes) are at "daggers drawn." The latter have just addressed a long letter to the bishop of the diocese, in which they thank his lordship for the measures which he had taken in defending them from "new and strange doctrines and observances." They add, "We feel specially grateful to your lordship for the prompt exercise of your episcopal authority in suspending the licences of the curates of this parish, and thereby giving us such immediate relief as the case admitted of, pending any proceedings which your lordship may feel compelled to take against our vicar in the event of his continuing to disregard your lordship's friendly admonitions." Archdeacon Denison states that the allegations of the letter will be tested in a court of law. He states also that he has applied to the bishop six times for the names of the "thirty complainants," and his lordship refuses them. It is stated in the letter of the parishioners that the thirty complainants represent an area of 1,200 acres,

or two-fifths of the entire acreage of the parish. The archdeacon says this is intensely ridiculous. "I wonder that the number of cows milked by each signer was not added."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Religious and Denominational News.

Mr. H. H. Oakley, of Rotherham College, has accepted a very cordial and unanimous invitation to the pastorate of George-street Independent Chapel, Heckmondwike.

The Rev. Robert Tuck, B.A., of Lister Hills, Bradford, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the Congregational church at Bromley, Kent, and will commence his pastorate at Bromley on the first Sunday in April. The necessity of his leaving is a cause of much regret to his church and congregation.

HONORARY DEGREE.—Among those to whom the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh have voted the degree of Doctor of Divinity, to be publicly conferred on the 19th of April, are the Rev. Robert Moffat, the veteran apostle of Bechuana-land, and the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., of Stepney, to the latter of whom Aberdeen has already given the same degree.

NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, LEICESTER.—Last Sunday the Rev. J. A. Picton, M.A., of Hackney, preached two eloquent sermons in the Corn Exchange. The congregations were very large, especially so in the evening. Collections were made on behalf of the Building Fund of the new church, and amounted in the morning to 28l. 13s. 3d., and in the evening to 31l. 12s. 3d., making a total of 60l. 5s. 6d.

MARKET HARBOUROUGH.—The Rev. W. E. Morris, of Bedford, having accepted the invitation to the pastorate of the Independent Church at Market Harborough, rendered vacant by the removal of the Rev. Wm. Clarkson, B.A., to Salisbury, will enter upon his duties on the first Sunday in May. For a considerable time Mr. Morris has been connected with the London Missionary Society, and for several years was stationed at Salem, South India, which place he was reluctantly compelled to leave on account of ill-health. It is a singular circumstance that the Mr. Morris's successor at Salem was the Rev. H. Toller, the eldest son of the late Rev. Henry Toller, who for twenty-three years was the beloved and honoured pastor of this church.

PORTLAND CHAPEL, SOUTHAMPTON.—The anniversary services of this chapel were held on the 10th and 11th of March. On Sunday, the Rev. George Short, B.A., of Salisbury, preached morning and evening, and D. Cruikshank, Esq., addressed the children in the afternoon. The Sunday-school children sang special pieces at each service. On Monday a tea-meeting was held in the schoolroom, which was tastefully decorated. At the evening meeting, Alfred Pegler, Esq., J.P., presided, and addresses were delivered by Revs. S. March, B.A., F. Trestrail, F.R.G.S., and E. Osborne: the Revs. R. Caven, B.A., and S. B. Stribling were also present. It was stated by the pastor, the Rev. W. Emery, that during the year, the congregation, though not a large one, had raised nearly 600l. for various purposes, and that the proceeds of the anniversary would be applied to the payment of liabilities most of which had been incurred by exceptional expenses. All the services were well attended, and liberal collections were made.

BRIDPORT.—On Tuesday, March 5, the Rev. Frederick J. Austin, late of Newport, Isle of Wight, was publicly recognised as pastor of the Congregational Church, Bridport, Dorset. About 370 persons partook of tea in the spacious school-rooms behind the chapel, which were tastefully decorated. Service was held in the chapel, which accommodates about 1,000 people, at seven o'clock. The introductory portion was conducted by the Rev. T. C. Finch (Baptist). A cordial address of welcome was given to the new minister by Mr. Monteith, the senior deacon, in the name of the Church, and an interesting paper was read by Mr. J. F. Bartlett, one of the deacons, on the "History of Nonconformity and Independency in Bridport." The Rev. F. J. Austin then addressed the meeting, stating his views of the leading doctrines of the Bible and of ecclesiastical polity. The recognition prayer was offered by the Rev. F. Beckley, of Sherborne. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. T. Neave, of Dorchester, on "What constitutes a Christian Church?" the Rev. F. Beckley, on "How to promote the prosperity of a Christian Church," and by the Rev. B. Gray, B.A. of Blandford, on "What hinders the Gospel." The chair was occupied by G. B. Ewens, Esq., of Allington, and the audience was very large.

RAGGED SCHOOL UNION.—On Wednesday evening the Ragged School Union held its nineteenth annual meeting at Exeter Hall, for the purpose of distributing prizes to servants of good character who had been formerly scholars at the ragged-schools, and who had kept their situations for twelve months. Lord Shaftesbury occupied the chair. The meeting was very crowded, and each school was represented by a banner, on which was inscribed its name and situation. Mr. Gent (secretary) stated that 737 prizes would be given away that evening, and those who had not received prizes before would receive a money prize of 7s. 6d. The number of prizes given away this year was less by thirty-three than was distributed last year, but when they considered the great changes which were going on in the schools in consequence of the Education Act, it was a very small diminution in-

deed. After Mr. Gent's statement, the scholars sang "The School Volunteer Song," and then the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was most enthusiastically received, in the course of a brief speech said that he did not intend to keep the scholars long waiting for the dissolving-views and lecture they were about to see and hear; "for my dear children," he said, "you know very well how heartily I love you all, and wish you well both in this world and in the world to come." He did not believe that in any country, or in any age or nation, such a magnificent spectacle as he saw before him had been witnessed, with the exception of preceding gatherings of the same kind in that hall. The rise and progress of the Ragged-school Union could not be accounted for by any philosophical reasoning whatever, and must be regarded as a special interposition of God, for the benefit of the most destitute creatures of our country. Within the last thirty years the Union had rescued over 200,000 children from the streets of the metropolis, and placed them in honourable employment, all of which had been accomplished by the Gospel of our blessed Lord. The noble chairman then urged all before him to exert whatever influence they might possess to prevent the exclusion of the Word of God from our schools. The new system of education must run its course, but they must alongside it, and he earnestly hoped that the supporters of ragged-schools would not relax their efforts, nor withdraw their subscriptions so long as God gave them materials to work upon. The applause which greeted his lordship when he arose, was again renewed as he resumed his seat, and continued for some minutes. The scholars then, to the number of 750, defiled along the platform in front of the noble chairman, each school headed by its banner, and the various superintendents received from the hands of his lordship the prizes allotted to their several schools. This occupied a little over half an hour, and then the Rev. F. H. White, of Chelsea, gave and explained a series of admirable dissolving views illustrating the "Parables," on a sheet twenty feet in diameter. At the conclusion of the dissolving views a vote of thanks was proposed to the chairman, and was responded to by lusty cheering, and his lordship having briefly replied, the interesting proceedings were brought to a close.

Correspondence.

LONDON SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION—MARYLEBONE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Last week a correspondent called the attention of your readers who reside in Finsbury to the forthcoming School Board election; will you permit me to say a word in regard to Marylebone? The denominationalist candidate, Mr. Llewellyn Davies, is supported by Lord Lyttelton, Dr. Rigg, Mr. Beresford Hope, and other prominent members of the Education Union. Mr. Cremer was the spokesman of the deputation that presented the working men's memorial against the payment of fees in denominational schools to the London School Board; and one of the speakers at a recent meeting grounded his opposition to the latter gentleman on the fact that Mr. Richard and Mr. Miall appear on the list of his committee. Several leading Nonconformist ministers are supporting Mr. Cremer's candidature, but with the small means at our disposal it is impossible to reach a tithe of the voters who are in favour of religious equality in the schools, except by an appeal like this. On the one side is a clergyman who is the recognised candidate of the denominational party; on the other, a working-class representative with a clear record and a good chance of success. Surely Nonconformists who themselves object to be the permanent hewers of wood and drawers of water to Liberalism will not decline to support a candidate holding their views, because he happens to be a working man. If in Finsbury the working classes support the Nonconformist candidate heartily, and in Marylebone the Nonconformists support with equal loyalty the working-class candidate, success in both cases is certain.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

HOWARD EVANS.

352, Clapham-road, March 18, 1872.

APPEAL FOR HELP.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The committee of the South-Western Provident Dispensary earnestly solicit the favour of your insertion of this letter (appeal by advertisement being precluded by total exhaustion of the funds), in the hope that the affluent and fortunate will extend a helping hand to the struggling provident poor. The committee grieve to say that the unavoidable expenses of a "removal" forced upon them during the recent smallpox visitation by nervous neighbours, have increased the previously heavy debt of the charity to between 200l. and 300l. They trust that their efforts to aid the deserving poor on sound provident principles, in accordance with prevailing public opinion, will meet with the sympathy and support of those who desire to aid in decreasing the tendency to pauperisation by reform in the mode of outdoor medical relief, that they may be enabled to continue to redeem their pledge to the provident poor, who have during the past three years been subscribing their weekly pence to insure help when sick. The majority of these members being sickly women and children, their small payments are, as it were, a mere "drop in the ocean," to their frequent needs, although the medical officers not only give their services, but also

contribute to the funds. The Baroness de Rothschild has kindly offered £1. towards liquidating the debt of the charity, if nineteen others can be found to subscribe a like amount; and contributions to meet this serious emergency will be thankfully received at the London and Westminster Bank (Lambeth Branch), and by Dr. Battye, 6, Gloucester-street, Pimlico; A. W. Moore, Esq., 2, Bessborough-street, Pimlico; Mr. Scott, 34, Bury-street, St. James's; Messrs. H. Middleton and Co., Essex-street and Devereux-court, Temple; or at the institution, 20, Pimlico-road, by

Yours obediently,
H. VENMAN, Secretary.
March, 1872.

THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

At the meeting of the London School Board on Wednesday Lord Lawrence took leave of the members, and said he earnestly hoped that his retirement would only be for a time. He thought the proper course to adopt was that the vice-chairman should take the position vacated by him, and his lordship spoke of the great support Mr. Reed had always given him. Of Mr. Croad, the secretary, too, the chairman spoke in the highest praise. With regard to the question of the payment of the chairman, Lord Lawrence said that for himself he could take no payment, but he was quite certain that it would be of great advantage to the cause of elementary education if the chairman was paid. His lordship was loudly cheered on resuming his seat, and Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., in the name of the board, assured him that he took with him the best wishes of the board that he might be thoroughly restored to health, so as to add to the many years of valuable services he had given to the nation. Mr. Macgregor spoke to the like effect.

Mr. Croad read a long memorandum which he had drawn up showing the work that had been done by the board since its election in November, 1870. From this it appears that ten school sites have been secured, and that steps have been taken towards the erection or enlargement of schools in twenty-seven deficient districts. Additional accommodation will thus be provided for 20,800 children.

The committee on books and apparatus have recommended that managers of schools be advised to adopt the Tonic Solfa system of teaching vocal music in the schools provided by the board. On the report of the committee being presented, on Wednesday, Canon Cromwell moved as an amendment that managers be at liberty to adopt the Tonic Solfa or any other system. This, however was lost by fifty for to twenty-two against.

Two meetings have been held in support of the candidature of the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies for the vacancy caused for the Marylebone division of the London School Board by the retirement of Professor Huxley. At the first Mr. W. D. Christie presided, and was supported by Mr. Mundella, M.P., Mr. Macgregor, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, and the Rev. Dr. Rigg. Mr. Davies said he concurred generally in the views of the board with regard to religious instruction, which he thought had been dealt with in a wise and equitable manner. With regard to remission of fees on the ground of poverty, he was for postponing the present use of the power, as it partook of the principle of poor relief. There was also a meeting at Paddington on Friday, over which Lord Lyttelton presided. In the course of his speech Mr. Davies said:—

There was a certain party in the country which advocated the separation of religion from secular teaching, on the ground that harmony would be promoted and education in the long run benefited. This policy, however, seemed like putting asunder what God had joined together. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, it was not necessary to regard secular schools as anti-religious. (Hear, hear.) If the two kinds of school were set up side by side as an experiment, he believed the secular school would be comparatively deserted. He was ready to admit that it would be a disadvantage if there were a preponderance of clergymen on the school boards. (Cheers.) It was not, however, unimportant that the clergy of the Church of England should have a good deal to do with the administration of the Education Act, because whatever might happen to the Church, it would for a long time remain a powerful body in the country. (Cheers.)

Dean Stanley also spoke in support of Mr. Davies, and in reference to the religious difficulty said:—

The argument that there is to be no religion in these schools, or no Bible taught, I should oppose—if I may use the words of the distinguished Archbishop of Paris, who was unfortunately murdered during the late insurrection—not because it is false, but because it is nonsense. (Laughter.) This is exactly the view I should take of those persons who say they wish to exclude the Bible because they wish to have no religion taught in the schools. It is really as unnecessary phrases. You may exclude the Bible, if you like, but all the difficulties about religion are sure to turn up in some other shape. You cannot teach historical questions without coming across difficulties that will rouse a vast number of differences of opinion. In the case of Ireland what was called the religious difficulty was overcome, for the two great Churches in that country entirely agreed about the matter. But the historical difficulty they never could surmount, and the consequence is there is no history whatever read in the schools in Ireland. (Laughter.) You can, in fact, give a course of lectures on the Bible with far less chance of arousing religious animosity than on many disputed points of English history. If you exclude the Bible, you may introduce these difficulties in your historical lectures and lessons. It is exceedingly desirable that the Bible should be taught as a matter

of national education in the interests of both the children and teachers. For both of these classes the Bible is an element of instruction, that it would be exceedingly melancholy to have to part with, even in a purely intellectual point of view. As an instrument of education, the Bible is a book beyond every other in which all classes of Englishmen take an interest; and to debar teachers from using this book is to debar them from one of the most useful means of bringing together the ideas of the rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated. Look again at the immense variety of the Book—poetry, history, philosophy, precept, geography, &c., which, by its agency, might be introduced in an agreeable form to poor uneducated children. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hughes, M.P., followed on the same side, and pointed to the fact that Mr. Cremer's list of supporters included such pure secularists as Mr. Miall, M.P., and Mr. H. Richard, M.P. After other speeches, a vote of confidence in Mr. Davies was carried with much enthusiasm.

Lord Howard of Glossop (Roman Catholic) will be put in nomination for the seat vacant by the resignation of Viscount Sandon, M.P., one of the representatives at the board for Westminster. Mr. George Potter is likely to be a candidate, and Lord Mahon, M.P., is the nominee of the Church party. No day for the election has yet been fixed.

In Finsbury the two candidates are actively at work. Mr. Stafford Allen has a great number of volunteer canvassers in the borough, and on Monday night an influential meeting in his behalf was held at Myddleton Hall. The canvass of Mr. Hugh Owen is being pressed with considerable vigour, and his committee is composed of upwards of a thousand voters. The election takes place on Monday week.

LEICESTER SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

The contest in this town for the vacancy on the school board continues to excite great interest. The question at issue is whether in the board schools the Bible shall be read without note or comment, or be used for the purpose of religious teaching. On the side of Mr. Alderman Geo. Toller (a resident in the town for the last thirty years) are ranged most of the Nonconformist ministers and leading Liberals of the town. Mr. Luke Turner, his opponent, is supported by the local clergy and the Conservatives. Several meetings have been held during the past week in support of Mr. Toller, at which resolutions in his favour have been cordially carried. The following were adopted at a meeting of the congregation of Gallowtree-gate Chapel, which we quote as an illustration of the issues at stake:—

That this meeting indignantly protests against the statements circulated by Mr. Luke Turner's supporters that Nonconformists are indifferent to Christian education.

That the proceedings at the school board meeting of Monday, February 26, make it evident that it is not Biblical teaching, but the teaching of their distinctive religious dogmas, at the public cost, for which the clerical party are anxious.

That this meeting adopts Mr. Toller's candidature, not only because his personal character, public experience, and high Christian excellence abundantly entitle him to a seat on the school board, but also because he will give determined opposition to any attempts to introduce disputed theological tenets into the elementary education of children, and will oppose the support of denominational schools under irresponsible management out of public rates.

Among the leading supporters of Mr. Toller are the Revs. Dr. Haycroft, R. Harley, C. Coe, A. Mac-kennal, Alderman G. Baines, Councillors Kempson, Ellis, Vicars and Chambers, and Messrs. W. Baines, James Thompson, and A. Burgess. According to statements made at these meetings a card has been very widely circulated on the other side, on which are printed these words:—"This is not a question of politics; it is a question of Bible or no Bible—whether a simple Bible lesson suitable to a child shall be given in the school board schools, or the word of God dishonoured and denied a place in them." The canvassers on behalf of Mr. Luke Turner—who include most of the clergy and a large number of ladies—are reported to ask the ratepayers whether they will support a man who is ready to exclude the Bible from school board schools. In the shop windows bills are plentifully exhibited, headed, "Bible or no Bible." At recent meetings of the school board the whole question of religious education was warmly discussed. Dr. Haycroft moved as an amendment on the resolution of the Rev. J. D. Vaughan, the chairman of the board, that the Bible should be read without note or comment in the schools, and a second amendment was proposed by the Rev. R. Harley (subsequently to the effect that religious instruction should be given in the schools other than theological. These two amendments were rejected by the Church party on the school board, and consequently, if the Bible is not to be read in the board schools—if religious instruction other than theological is not to be given—it is because the Church party had rejected two amendments affirming those propositions. The simple fact is that it is a question whether, in school board schools, there should be taught, at the expense of the whole community, dogmas which are not approved by all. The following is an extract from a speech delivered last week at the Temperance Hall by Mr. Toller:—

He might say that although he had had experience of electioneering contests for upwards of thirty years in that town, he had never met with more unscrupulous opponents or a more unprincipled cry. (Hear, hear.) He tried to exercise all the Christian charity he could muster—he tried to give his friends on the opposite side credit for the purity of their motives, but really, after he had made every possible deduction, he found such an immense residuum of deceit and misrepresentation, that the only conclusion to which he could come was that there were certain persons connected with that contest who, in alleged defence of the Bible, in the sacred name of the Bible, really trampled upon and violated the first principles which the Bible enunciated. (Loud up-

roar.) Their principle was, the Bible without note or comment; some of his opponents said there was not the slightest use in reading the Bible without note or comment. (Oh, oh.) He had always thought there was the greatest possible use in reading the pure and unadulterated Word of God. If the words of Christ falling on the ears of children were of no use, that was a new doctrine to him, and something he did not subscribe to. (Hear, hear.) Another thing had occurred to him respecting the reading of the Bible without note or comment: if that meant a denial of a place to it, what became of the Church of England? (Hear, hear.) If they recollected, every morning and evening they read two lessons without a syllable of either note or comment. There the book lay on the reading desk, to be made use of without note or comment, and did they mean to say by so doing they dishonoured it? because they said they would dishonour it by making such use of it in the schools. He said his opponents dishonoured it by the way they were using it. (Hear, hear.) If they sent him to the school board, he had thoroughly made up his mind—and he was sure he should fully represent their opinions on that point—that nothing should ever induce him to vote that a single farthing should be paid out of the rates to denominational schools. (Applause.) He had been a Nonconformist all his life, and he was not going to that board to violate the opinions he had held from his childhood. (Hear, hear.) He thought there could not be a more direct infraction of principles for which they had been fighting—the principles which tumbled down the Irish Church Establishment—which abolished church-rates—and which had ever been intimately identified with Dissenters—nothing could be a more direct infraction of those principles than that voting of money to denominational schools. (Hear, hear.) One word as to the coming election. It was certainly a very important election; it would, he thought, have considerable moral effect on the community if it terminated rightly. If they returned him by a very small majority over Mr. Turner, the consequences might be disastrous—they would occupy an ignominious position amongst the constituencies of the country. They had invariably said, and said it because they believed it, that the reason why they had been so unsuccessful in the various board schools throughout the country was the operation of the cumulative vote, and they had now an opportunity of testing that. As they would not have the operation of the cumulative vote to contend with, they should see what they could now do. They had simply to show that though they had said so much about the cumulative vote, it was not without foundation. If they did him the honour to send him to the board, he should go there not expecting to do great things, but he would do his best to co-operate with every member of the board as far as he could. (Applause.)

The Leicester Chronicle publishes a lengthened correspondence between the Rev. R. Harley and the Rev. A. A. Isaacs, a local clergyman, who accused Mr. Harley of violating his pledges, and of allowing "fidelity to party" to "take the place of fidelity to God, and to our Lord and Master Jesus Christ." Mr. Harley charges Mr. Isaacs with bearing false witness against his neighbour. Of the whole correspondence, our contemporary says:—"Mr. Isaacs comes out of this passage of arms with little credit to his chivalry, and with many a dent in his armour. It is to be hoped that in future he will be a little more considerate before he makes personal attacks on a political opponent, if only from regard to his ministerial consistency and usefulness. We commend to him the old saw—'Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.'"

MANCHESTER.—At the Manchester city police-court, on Friday, several persons were fined at the instance of the school board for neglecting to send their children to school.

WIGAN.—The members of the Wigan School Board have been elected without a contest. The board will consist of five members of the Church of England, three Nonconformists, and three Roman Catholics.

SHEFFIELD.—The school board of this town have decided to ask the Education Department for power to borrow £8,000 for school buildings and sites necessary to meet, as ascertained, deficiency in school accommodation for upwards of 12,000 children.

LEEDS.—At a meeting of the board on Friday, Mr. Ellershaw asked why Bibles had not been furnished to the board schools, and the clerk, in reply, stated that the board had not arrived at a resolution as to whether Bibles were to be supplied to the children. Copies of the Scriptures had been supplied to the teachers, but not to the children.

STALYBRIDGE.—In the school board of this town Mr. J. F. Chestham has given notice that he will introduce a motion on the subject of payment to denominational schools next month. The advocates of unsectarian education are, however, in a minority of two. Denominationalism is rampant in Stalybridge. It would appear that none of the schools belonging to Nonconformists, or that are under undenominational management, make any demands upon the ratepayers, while the Church and Roman Catholic schools make ever increasing requisitions.

BIRMINGHAM.—At the meeting of the Birmingham School Board on Wednesday, the question of the precept on the Town Council again caused some discussion. The result of the meeting of the deputations of the Town Council and school board was reported, and the question was raised whether the deputation had pledged the board not to pay fees to denominational schools during the present year, as no resolution had been passed; but it was shown that the deputation had simply stated the fact that six of the board would not vote for the payment of fees under any circumstances, that three members had said they would not do so during the present year, and that the council had acted upon the obvious inference. Several members disputed the authority

of the deputation to pledge the school board to such a course, and plainly intimated that they would vote for the payment of fees to denominational schools in any cases in which the parents were too poor to pay them. The portion of the report of the Finance Committee, relative to the payment of £5,000 for a school site, postponed for consideration, was adopted. Mr. Hopkins stated that the treasurer had consented to advance the money.

Imperial Parliament.

THE REVISED CODE AND NIGHT SCHOOLS.

In the Lords on Friday, Lord RIBTON, in reply to Lord Midleton, explained that previously to the new Education Code the position of night schools was most unsatisfactory, and out of 74,000 children above twelve years old presented for examination in 1870 the great majority were in the same standard as children of eight years of age in the day schools. Last year, however, the effect of the new regulations was seen in an improvement in the higher standard. These regulations were introduced to ensure some return for the grants of public money; they had already done some good, and he could not therefore agree that it was desirable to relax them. On the whole, he believed that night schools were doing such substantial work that it would not be expedient to lower their efficiency.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PUBLIC WORSHIP FACILITIES BILL.

On Wednesday, Mr. SALT, in moving the second reading of this bill, said that last year an Act passed—the Private Chapels Act—in which there was originally a clause relating especially to chapels attached to private houses. That clause was rejected in another House. At the same time it received so large a measure of support in this House and elsewhere that he felt at liberty to re-introduce it this year, if possible, in an amended form. The first clause of his bill provided that where a parish contained more than 2,000 inhabitants the bishop should have the power of licensing a clergyman to perform the services of the Church of England. Clause 2 gave similar power to the bishop in hamlets which contained more than twenty inhabitants, and which were situated more than two miles from the parish church. Clause 3 related to chapels attached to private houses. The remaining clauses were introduced for the purpose of protecting the rights and position of the incumbent. For example, the solemnisation of marriages would not be included under the licence; no chapel under the Act would have seats for hire; due notice was to be given to an incumbent before any licence was given by the diocesan; and an incumbent was empowered to appeal to the archbishop. The object of the bill was simply to obtain, if possible, some greater elasticity in our present ecclesiastical system. The result would be that in certain parishes the bishop would be able to introduce clergymen who would practically act as missionary clergymen, and would lay the foundation of some district or new parish. At the present moment church-building and endowment was a luxury confined only to the very rich, and persons possessed of moderate means had no method of providing services which they might be most anxious to obtain. He wished to make it clear that the bill was in no way aimed at incumbents. He did not see how the laity could object to a measure which sought to promote the influence of the Church in outlying parishes, where people now hardly ever saw a clergyman or went to church. In many instances of this sort the bill would do good, and he did not think it could possibly do harm. It would introduce greater freedom and elasticity in our parochial system, and remove restrictions which had grown up in the course of time—restrictions never intended either by the law of the Church or the law of the land. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BARNES HORN said, for good or for evil the bill was an absolute revolution in the parochial system of the Church of England, the corner-stone on which that Church was built. Pass this bill, and you might have a better or a worse Church of England; but it would be one based on a totally different system. Was it treating a great institution with proper respect to propose such a revolution on the responsibility of one or two private members, without consulting the heads of the Church, without consulting Convocation, with nothing but a vague and unsupported statement that the clergy, as a whole, did not disapprove it? No doubt the bill bristled with good intentions, but these were cast into a shape which made them more mischievous than if the intention was to weaken instead of strengthen the Church. Under the first clause of the bill the chapel to which the bishop's licence applied might be next door to the church, and the clergyman might be a man whose doctrine was diametrically opposed to that of the incumbent. A Ritualist might be set up to oppose

a Low Churchman, or an Evangelical or Broad Churchman might be set up to oppose a Ritualist. He did not argue the question in the interests of any party in the Church, but this bill might introduce discord into every parish, and the bishop's licence would not operate in any appreciable degree as a safeguard. Bishops were subjected to the criticism of the press and of public meetings; they would be pestered by applications for licences from this church organisation and that; they would probably be afraid of church associations with thousands of pounds at their backs; and they would be under pressure, to do an easy, good-natured thing without much discrimination. To refuse a licence would place a bishop in an invidious position, and if either he refused or granted one he might be pelted as a partisan. Another exception which he took to the first clause was that the chapels which it was proposed to establish might be opened for the purpose of teaching doctrine diametrically opposed to those of the mother church. As matters at present stood, there was ample machinery for the subdivision of parishes which wanted division, and there was room for compromise which meant toleration. If, however, the rough machinery of the measure under discussion were brought into play, no time would be allowed for compromise, and there might be in a given locality three pulpits preaching against another in the name of the same Church of England. As to the third clause, which provided that a room might be licensed as a chapel in a private residence, he would simply say that if it passed every rich Englishman's home might be regarded, not only as his castle, but his church. He, for one, should scorn to exercise the privilege of being able to withdraw himself and his household by means of such a proposal from the salutary control of the parish church. The sixth clause, which enabled the offertory to be disposed of as the officiating clergyman might direct, he looked upon as an outbreak of sacerdotal tyranny. Under it no protection was afforded to the laity who might be induced to leave their legitimate place of worship to meet together in one of the new conventicles, and the money received might be devoted to some such object as the aid of the Patagonian Washerwomen's Association. (A laugh.) Marriages were excluded from the operation of the bill, but from that very fact he supposed other Church rites were included. We might have clandestine baptisms, and was it not, he would ask, extremely dangerous to make so extravagant a concession of privileges to those sabbatizing ministers? The parochial system might, he admitted, be improved in several respects. Mission chapels were needed in many places. But while he entertained that view, he could not give his assent to the crude scheme before the House, and he therefore begged to move that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. MORRIS seconded the amendment, and expressed his entire concurrence in what had been said as to the revolutionary nature of the bill. He took exception to almost every one of its clauses, and looked upon it as a step towards the disestablishment of the Church. It would entirely destroy the parochial system throughout the country.

Mr. NEWBOLT, while sincerely desirous to further parochial subdivision, could not ignore the character of the Church of England. In the present bill the laity seemed to be in no way considered, and it was because it contained no provision giving them an opportunity of independently appealing against any abuse which might arise under it that he objected to the second reading.

Mr. NORWOOD supported the bill, and pointed out the case of several parishes in which from his own experience he knew that such legislation was required in order to remedy the inconvenience of the existing state of things.

Mr. HARDY said that if the House looked at the bill it would see that this was not a question of dividing parishes, but of dividing parishioners. (Hear, hear.) In many instances it was good to divide the first, but it was never good to divide the latter. (Hear, hear.) Under the bill, if a certain portion of the parishioners were not satisfied with the ministrations of the incumbent, they would have the power of setting up another incumbent in opposition, whose services might be performed in any room; for there was not a word in the bill requiring them to be conducted in an ecclesiastical edifice. It was not wise, on account of one or two small exceptional cases occurring here and there, to alter the law of the whole Church. He trusted that the House would not, for the sake of removing a temporary inconvenience, consent to a bill which would create schism in parishes, and keep them in hot water by setting up two separate authorities in them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HENLEY remarked that at an early period of the present century, it was a common saying that it was easier to get a seat in Parliament than a licence for a place for Church of England worship. At the end of the war bishops and clergy stood up for what they called Church extension, and got 1,000,000, but they could not get a halfpenny more. After a time, there was instituted the first Bishop of London's Fund, and now there was a second Bishop of London's Fund, and everybody admitted that, notwithstanding the large sums subscribed, the spiritual wants of the people were not overtaken. In a great many places the clergy, to their infinite credit, had been actively working in their vocation, but there were other places where such was not the case, and then a Nonconformist clergyman came in. He could not shut his eyes to these facts, and, in voting for the principle of the bill, all he voted for was that there should be power vested in the

bishop to license an additional place of worship in any parish where it might be wanted. He should vote for the second reading, feeling that the population of the country were fast outgrowing the means of spiritual instruction provided for them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE felt obliged reluctantly to oppose the bill, because he found in it no recognition of the wishes and powers of the laity. In the case of an incumbent exercising his powers capriciously, he should have confidence in the bishop, but he should have more confidence in the congregation if they were enabled to express their wishes on the subject. He feared that the bill, by failing to give to the parishioners some organisation by which their feelings might be made known, would make matters worse rather than better, and inflict a heavy blow on the parochial system. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLLINS did not believe that the bill would be largely used, but he thought its principle right.

Mr. WHITWELL should in committee propose clauses providing for the interposition of the laity in bringing the bill into operation.

Mr. BRUCE admitted that if he were now called on to agree to the third reading of the bill he could not vote for it in its present form, for he regarded it as defective in many important respects. He admitted that the clergy generally were only too ready to supply, of their own accord, any deficiency of spiritual ministrations which might come under their notice, but, on the other hand, there were cases in which incumbents neglected to act in that way. The position of the parishioners under the bill was a matter for consideration of considerable importance, and it might be useful to provide that, where an additional clergyman was appointed in a large parish against the wishes of the incumbent, the bishop should decide what part of the parish was to be under his charge. He entirely agreed with the hon. member for Oxfordshire—that the wants of the parishioners, rather than the wishes of the incumbent, were to be considered—(Hear, hear)—and, provided care was taken to prevent the occurrence of vexatious disputes, he thought the House might safely pass the second reading of the bill, the principle of which was, in his opinion, sound. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, he gave fair notice that, as far as the Government were concerned, they would not allow it to pass through a third reading without considerable alteration. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WHARTON said that the present measure ought to be entitled a bill for the total destruction of the parochial system. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SALT observed that, if the bill passed through the second reading, he would fix the committee for some day after Easter, so that hon. members would have time to consider what amendments they might desire to propose.

The House then divided, when the numbers were,
 Ayes 122
 Noes 93
 Majority 29

The bill was then read a second time.

THE BALLOT BILL.

On Thursday the House of Commons resumed the consideration of Parliamentary and Municipal Elections (Ballot) Bill. At the first clause, prescribing the course to be adopted at the nomination of candidates, Mr. GREGORY proposed to amend the clause by making it necessary that the nomination paper (with the names of ten electors appended) should be countersigned by the candidate or his agent authorised in writing under his hand. The purpose of the amendment was to prevent the nomination of a candidate without his approval. It was opposed by Mr. FORSTER, and, upon a division, rejected by 265 to 108 votes.

Mr. McCULLAGH TORRENS then moved a proviso in the middle of the clause casting the returning officers' expenses on the Consolidated Fund. He argued that voting by ballot would greatly increase the cost of elections, and dwell on the hardship of throwing it on the candidate. In the discussion which followed Mr. FORSTER stated his regret that the House had last year rejected the proposal of the Government that the charge should be defrayed out of local rates, because he thought that no charge could be more legitimate. He could not give his assent to transferring the liability to the Consolidated Fund, but he hoped the House would, on reflection, support the amendment of Mr. FAWCETT for throwing the burden upon the rates. The charge would be only equivalent to seven-tenths of a penny in the pound in England, and four-tenths of a penny in Scotland and Ireland. Colonel BARTELOT objected to put the cost of elections upon either the candidate or the rates. Mr. MELLY opposed the amendment, as calculated to multiply contests, and make elections far more costly than at present. Mr. M'LAREN would vote for any proposal which would put an end to the present unjust system. He regarded the argument against increasing rates as ridiculous, inasmuch as the individual expense to a working man would not be more than a halfpenny a year. Mr. BRAND advocated the transfer of the burden to the Consolidated Fund, and suggested that it would be the duty of the Government to devise safeguards to check undue expenditure. Mr. H. JAMES cautioned the House against giving its sanction to the dangerous principle involved in the amendment, and denied that election expenses had ever deterred working men from going to the hustings. Mr. FAWCETT declared himself equally antagonistic to casting the expense upon the candidate or the Consolidated Fund. He thought the fairest way would be for the constituencies to bear the burden themselves.

Mr. GLADSTONE said he still continued to favour Mr. Fawcett's proposal to lay the charges on the rates, and he attached considerable importance to the objection that the imperial funds could not be burdened without the consent of the Government. The Treasury, he maintained, could not check the details of this expenditure, and there would ensue constant disputes between the Treasury and the local authorities. Moreover, the certainty of drawing on the Consolidated Fund would multiply needless and frivolous contests.

Mr. DISRAELI was opposed both to casting the burden on the rates and on the Consolidated Fund. He was alarmed, too, at hearing Government commit itself to the former proposition, for until the area of local taxation had been increased no new charge ought to be imposed on the rates. The notion that any working man had been kept out of Parliament by these charges was utterly baseless; and he believed them to be a salutary check against the return of objectionable persons whom the House would be very glad to get rid of if once they got into it. On a division Mr. McCullagh Torrens's motion was negatived by 362 to 54 votes.

Another division was taken on a proposal made by Mr. CAWLEY that a candidate shall be at liberty to retire at any time before the poll, which was rejected by 206 to 144 votes; and progress was reported before Clause 1 was settled.

PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.

In the Commons on Friday Mr. DODSON submitted to the House his scheme for the amendment of the system of private business and legislation. His main proposals are the transfer of the preliminary investigations from select committees to a permanent tribunal of a judicial character, before which promoters and opponents will be heard in open court. This permanent tribunal would be formed by three special commissioners, who, sitting nine months in the year, would get through the whole work done by the Private Bill Committees. These commissioners will grant provisional orders, and from their decisions there would be an appeal to Parliament before a joint committee of Lords and Commons. In the course of the discussion which followed, general approval was expressed of the scheme by Mr. Gregory, Mr. Bouvier, Colonel Wilson-Patten, Mr. S. Booth, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue; Mr. BOUVIER contended, however, that the scheme was so elaborate and involved so large a change as to require grave consideration before the House could commit itself to it. He also suggested that proceeding by way of bill would be preferable to resolutions, and stated his opinion that the permanent appellate tribunal mentioned in the scheme would be lacking in flexibility because of its inability to review its own decisions. Colonel W. PATTEN was convinced that the time had arrived when they must make some alteration. He should therefore be quite prepared to support the resolution to refer the matter to a Government committee. He had long been of opinion that a committee of the House was not the proper tribunal to determine on such matters. The debate was ultimately adjourned to Friday next.

THE ALABAMA QUESTION.

The principal matter of interest in both Houses on Monday was the Ministerial announcement relative to the Alabama negotiations, which was made in the House of Lords by Earl Granville and in the Commons by Mr. Gladstone in almost identical terms. The effect of the two statements was that the American answer to Lord Granville's "friendly communication" (dated on the 27th February) was received on the 14th March; that it was couched in courteous and friendly terms, and "invited" an answer, which could be communicated to the American Minister in time for him to forward it to the United States on Thursday next. In the Commons, Mr. Gladstone, while intimating that it would not be consistent with the public interest to lay the correspondence before Parliament, stated that it would be premature to assume that there would be any interference with the proceedings contemplated by the treaty, and ended, amid profound silence, by saying that, although the Government were most anxious to maintain and carry into effect the Treaty of Washington, he trusted that the Government would not be found to fail in the course which the honour of the country required.

NAVAL ADMINISTRATION.

On Monday, on going into committee of supply on the Naval Estimates, Mr. CORY called attention to what he considered had been the mischievous effects of Mr. Childers' changes at the Admiralty, and moved a condemnatory resolution. Basing himself chiefly on the evidence given before the Megara Commission, from which he made copious extracts, Mr. Cory indicated the numerous points in which he conceived Mr. Childers' scheme had failed. Mr. SEELY, though not altogether approving the present system, deprecated a return to the old Admiralty Board, which, he contended, has grievously failed in its duty in such matters as economy, efficiency, dockyard management, &c., of which he gave instances. Mr. BRASSEY recommended a restoration of the board with certain modifications; and Mr. SAMUDA was for increasing the consultative element on the board, and for strengthening the management of the dockyards.

Mr. CHILDERS commenced his defence by expressing his regret that he should have to make it in so thin a House (there were not more than a dozen members present). Premising that when he undertook his reforms he was conscious of the difficulty

of his task and the possibility of failure, Mr. Childers referred to the principal. All his reforms were made in concert with his colleagues, and it was not until he came into collision first with one and then with another that their partiality for a board revived. A consultative council the First Lord ought to have, but to submit all the current business to a board was a waste of time, and destructive of progress and promptitude. Mr. Childers admitted that there were shortcomings in his scheme,—for instance, there was a want of permanence in the heads of departments—and, with regard to the much-criticised rearrangements of the Secretariat and other minor arrangements, he pointed out that he was prevented from completing them by illness. He claimed for his changes generally that they had been as successful as he had expected, and that they would be appreciated by the country. But for them the numerous improvements he had effected in the condition of the navy, its increased efficiency, and more economical management, could not have been carried out.

Lord H. LENNOX denied that Mr. Childers's naval reforms had been so successful as he boasted. He eulogised the board system, contending that whatever shortcomings attended it could be remedied without destruction.

Mr. GOSCHEN admitted that experience had shown modifications to be necessary in Mr. Childers's system of administration, but he thoroughly agreed with its essential principles—the division of the Admiralty into departments, the separate performance of work, and the possibility of tracing what every man did. It would be unwise to go back to the old board, but no First Lord could get on without professional advice, and as a guarantee, therefore, for consultation, there would hereafter be regular meetings of the board for the consideration of professional and technical business. Mr. Goschen went on to explain in detail the further changes which he proposes to make at the Admiralty. The Controller will cease to be a member of the board, and will be restored to his former position of a permanent official, being relieved from the too heavy pressure of work on him by the appointment of a Deputy-Controller or Director of Dockyards. The Controller will have a right to attend the board when his designs are discussed, and steps will be taken generally to improve the status of the scientific officials. On the personnel side of the office, the Chief of the Staff will be abolished, an additional Sea Lord will be appointed in the Controller's place, and a Naval Secretary will be created. As to the Parliamentary Secretary, though he will be mainly responsible for finance, he will no longer be confined to that branch, but will represent the department with a full knowledge of all the business before it.

Sir J. EUSTINGTON wished to have the debate adjourned, and pressed a motion to that effect to a division; but was beaten by 90 to 23. The estimates were adjourned until Thursday.

The Master and Servant (Wages) Bill was read a second time. The other orders were disposed of and the House adjourned at twenty minutes past two o'clock.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Wednesday Mr. McLagan's Fire Bill, the object of which is to empower and require coroners to hold inquests upon all fires, was read a second time without opposition. Mr. BRUCE, however, expressing doubt whether the coroner would always have power and experience to conduct these inquiries. On the same day Mr. H. JAMES was allowed to introduce a bill for the better prevention of corrupt practices at municipal elections, and for the establishment of a tribunal for the trial of the validity of such elections.

On Thursday the House of Commons voted certain excess and supplementary estimates for the civil service.

The Government will propose that the Easter Holidays shall last from Tuesday next to the Thursday week following, which will leave thirteen days for Whitsuntide.

On Friday Lord O'HAGAN brought in the Government bills for amending the law of bankruptcy and abolishing imprisonment for debt in Ireland.

The Budget will be introduced on Monday next, the 25th inst.

On Friday, after much discussion, a resolution was agreed to in favour of a new standing order that no new orders of the day, or new notices of motion, to which notice of opposition had been printed in the paper, should be taken after 12.30 a.m. Money bills are to be excepted.

On Monday, with reference to the business after Easter, Mr. GLADSTONE said that they proposed to go through committee with the Ballot Bill before proceeding in committee with the Scotch Education Bill.

On the same day, Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to Mr. Osborne, while confirming the statement that 1,000*l.* a-year and 20,000*l.* had been voted to Lady Mayo and her children, said that no other question of provision had come before the Government, and pointed out to him that it was more than equal to the 2,000*l.* a-year voted to Lady Elgin.

A case was being tried before a presbytery, not long ago, when the counsel for the defendant urged the plea of moral insanity. A venerable presbyter said: "Mr. Moderator, this disease of moral insanity seems to me to be identical with what older theologians, in their unscientific way, call *total depravity*."

Epitome of News.

The Queen held a *levee* at Buckingham Palace on Thursday afternoon, which was attended by a brilliant assemblage. The Queen was supported by the Princess Louise and other members of the royal family. The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex (Mr. Ald. Truscott and Mr. John Bennett), Mr. Thomas Chambers, Q.C., M.P., Mr. John Coode, Dr. John Rose Cormack, Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P. for Newcastle, Mr. John Gilbert, and Mr. Peter Spokes, received the honour of knighthood. The Queen, with the Princess Beatrice and Prince Leopold, afterwards left Buckingham Palace for Windsor.

Her Majesty will, according to the most recent arrangements, leave Windsor Castle next Saturday for Baden.

The Prince and Princess of Wales are at Nice, and are shortly expected at Rome to meet the King of Denmark. The health of the prince continues to improve.

Monday was the twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of the Princess Louise. To-morrow will be the first anniversary of the marriage of her royal highness to the Marquis of Lorne.

Prince Arthur has come out in the capacity of a lecturer. He delivered a lecture on Tuesday at Dover on the German Kriegspiel or "War-game," urging its value as a means of instruction in the military profession.

The Queen has ordered a volume to be prepared of the newspaper reports of Thanksgiving Day.

The Duke of Edinburgh is engaged upon his course of gunnery studies on board the *Excellent* at Southsea.

Saturday was the sixteenth birthday of the Prince Imperial, and a number of ladies and gentlemen went down from London to Chislehurst to present their respects to the Emperor, the Empress, and the Prince. Among them were Prince Lucien Bonaparte, the Prince and Princess de la Moskowa, Duc de Cambacères, Comte and Comtesse de la Poëze, M. and Madame Bartholoni, M. Benedetti, Comte Casabianca, and the Vicomte and Vicomtesse Casabianca.

Her Majesty has approved the grant of a pension of 100*l.* a year from the Civil List to the widow of the late Mark Lemon.

Lord Derby has signified his intention of taking part in the reception of Mr. Disraeli at the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, on the 3rd proximo.

The Will of the late Mr. Joseph Pease was proved in the district registry of the Court of Probate at Durham, on Saturday. The personalty is sworn under 350,000*l.*

In consideration of the services rendered to the country by the late Lord Mayo, and of his death by violence while in the discharge of his public duties, it has been resolved by the Secretary of State for India in Council, to confer a life annuity of 1,000*l.* upon Lady Mayo, and to grant a sum of 20,000*l.* for the benefit of her youngest children, both sums to be paid out of the revenues of India.

Mr. Ruskin has written to the Senators of St. Andrew's University resigning any right, real or imaginary, he might have to the rectorship, and Lord Lytton having also withdrawn, a new election will take place on the 28th inst.

The West Cumberland nomination is fixed for Tuesday, the 26th inst. Lord Manchester is the only candidate.

It is stated that the difficulties which presented themselves in connection with the Easter Monday Volunteer gathering at Brighton have been overcome, and that the review will take place as at first arranged, excepting some alterations as to ground.

The Joint Committee of Lords and Commons on the subject of railway amalgamation again met on Monday, the President of the Board of Trade in the chair. The evidence taken was averse to the proposed amalgamation between the London and North-Western and Lancashire and Yorkshire Companies.

Edward Roberts was executed on Monday morning for the murder of Ann Merritt. He manifested penitence, and asked pardon of the murdered woman's mother.

The *Edinburgh Courier* (Conservative paper) states that "great fears" are said to be already entertained by the Scotch members that the Education Bill for Scotland may not get through the House of Commons this year. If the bill should pass the Commons it will be snuffed out in the Lords, the Duke of Athol having recently announced, at a little hole-and-corner meeting at Dunkeld, that he "would take care" that it should not pass through the Upper House.

There is to be a public meeting at Birmingham to protest against the dreadful outrages on the Jews in Roumania. Mr. Bright has been invited to attend, but says he cannot:—"The outrages are very shocking. How slow the world is to learn what is just and right in regard to differences of religious belief!"

Mr. T. W. Hill, of Clifton, has given to three societies in London—the Missionary Society, the Bible Society, and the Tract Society—1,200*l.* a year each, invested in the name of trustees. These gifts, capitalised, represented about 100,000*l.* Mr. Thomas Pease and Mr. Richard Fry are two of the four trustees.

Epping Forest litigation has been advanced another stage by the decision of the Lords Justices upholding the refusal of the Master of the Rolls to

allow the defendants' demurrers. The strongest of these was a denial of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. The appeal was dismissed with costs.

"One thing may be easily reckoned upon in Mr. Lowe's Budget," says the *Bullionist*, "and that is, a reduction of the income-tax." The Chancellor of the Exchequer will have such a surplus as will enable him to take at least twopence off the tax.

Meetings in celebration of the anniversary of proclaiming the Commune in Paris were to have been held on Monday evening at the Hall of Science, Old-street, and at St. George's Hall, Langham-place; but in the last-mentioned case the arrangements were not carried out.

Something like an "ovation" awaited Mr. Pigott, editor of the *Irishman*, on his release from Richmond Prison, Dublin, after four months' imprisonment for contempt of court. Five hundred persons received him with cheering, and he was entertained at breakfast at the Imperial Hotel by about thirty of the amnesty leaders.

Lord Salisbury has finally resigned the chairmanship of the Great Eastern Railway Company, and a board meeting is expected to be held shortly with the view of appointing a successor.

The Midland Railway Company have decided to attach third-class to all their trains.

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 20, 1872.

VOLUNTARIYISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Last evening a meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, convened by the Liberation Society, to gather from the Rev. Dr. Dexter, of Boston, and the Rev. D. Healy, the president of Straight University, New Orleans, "information respecting the relations of the civil power in the United States to religion and religious bodies, and the working of voluntarism in that country."

Among those present were Mr. E. Miall, M.P., Mr. Howard, M.P., Mr. Crum-Ewing, M.P., Mr. Richard, M.P., Professor Newth, Rev. Dr. Mullens, Mr. Peter Bayne, Dr. Weymouth, Dr. Hoppus, the Rev. Dr. Allon, the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane, the Rev. Dr. Waddington, Mr. Ellington, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. G. Potter, the Rev. G. W. Conder, Mr. G. Howell, the Rev. A. Ashton, Mr. Chesson, the Rev. J. C. Galloway, the Rev. R. Redpath, the Rev. J. Gill, the Rev. W. Morris, the Rev. J. S. Withington, the Rev. J. R. Ryley, &c.

The Rev. Dr. Healy was unfortunately unable to be present, but sent the following letter of apology:—

London, March 18, 1872.

J. C. Williams, Esq.
My Dear Sir,—Up to this morning I had hoped to be present at your meeting on Tuesday evening at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

I came to this country on a special mission, and my duty to it compels me to subordinate all other interests. The necessities of your organisation do not require any testimony from me, as my friend, the Rev. Dr. Dexter, will be present to give all needful information.

Allow me to say, in a single word, that during an active life of fifteen years in America I have heard but one opinion from the representative men of the different religious bodies respecting the relation of the civil power in the United States to religion and religious bodies, and the working of voluntarism in that country. The American sentiment, at least among Protestant Christians, is universal and emphatic that State-control would secularise, and so paralyse and destroy the efficiency of any of our Christian bodies. Such a condition of things we should all deplore. The American churches, therefore, have a profound and prayerful interest in the object of your society.

Obliged by your kind invitation, and hoping your meeting may make a valuable contribution towards a spiritual and Catholic church,

I remain, yours very truly,

J. W. HEALY.

Mr. C. GILPIN, M.P., presided, and in introducing Dr. Dexter said that the meeting had been convened to hear his views as to the operations of religion in the United States where it was absolutely separated from the State—and where the inhabitants were as really religious, as those of any civilised country. Probably Dr. Dexter would be able to show that the separation of religion from the State, so far from in any way enervating its power, was really calculated to extend the influence of Christian principles. In concluding a very brief address, he said it gave him very great pleasure, especially at this particular juncture, to welcome their distinguished friend, and to say that whilst politicians might be discussing, and in some sense disputing, the Nonconformists of this country were willing, and more than willing, heartily to embrace their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic as friends and brothers in a truer sense than a mere political one. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. DEXTER, who was warmly received, said he had no formal address to make, but after the few observations he had to offer he would be glad to answer any questions and communicate anything he knew. He begged to say he did not desire to raise any argument upon the English disestablishment question, and had not considered the question with that view. He could not as an American presume to teach Englishmen their duties, but he would gladly state what facts he could, and his audience might draw their

own conclusions. He would first go back to a little historical account of the condition of religious affairs in the United States at the beginning, until they had reached their present condition. It was his fortune to be born in New England under an Establishment. His father was a minister there. One peculiarity of New England was its townships. These were districts of say ten miles square, and were called towns, in which the people were associated together for civil government as a little republic, every male of twenty-one being a voter. These towns were independent of the adjacent towns, but were affiliated to each other for county purposes. To go back to the settlers of New England, the Plymouth Colony, having been carried beyond the limits of the charter granted by the King, found it necessary to make a law of their own for their guidance. They originally emigrated as a Congregational church, and the first idea, therefore, that dominated their civil affairs, was that they should be free to worship as they pleased; and the town was, therefore, the servant of the church in the first instance. As the colony grew three things became requisite for the formation of every town:—1st. That it should consist of less than fifty householders as a protection against Indians; 2nd. That there should be a provision set apart out of the land for the maintenance of a minister; and, 3rd, that land should be set apart for a school. Thus the town and the church got mixed up together till there was no difference—the State was evolved out of the Church and the Church had no existence without the State. Six points were decided on, called the ministerial law—providing that every town was to have a learned and orthodox minister, who was to be suitably supported, and with whom all contracts were to be binding, and the election of whom depended on the majority of the inhabitants of each town. When he (Dr. Dexter) was ten years old these different elements had changed very much, and Baptist and Episcopalian churches had been established where originally there was only the Congregational church; and he well remembered his parents talking of the danger likely to arise from the change of affairs—and predicting atheism and all manner of immorality as likely to result from a separation of the Church from the State. In 1830 the connection between Church and State was severed, and everything was left free, so that everybody could go to church where he liked, and any persons could form themselves into any sort of church they pleased. Everything was left to the free will, free conscience, and free judgment of the people. (Hear, hear.) It was done with some misgiving on the part of good people as to what the result would be. The great point of solicitude was that the ministry would not be supported. It was feared that if people were allowed to do as they liked, they would not pay for the Gospel, and there would be no preaching. But no sooner, in his father's town, was the change made, than the old church was pulled down and a new one erected. (Hear, hear)—because people said when they were not obliged to pay they would be thankful to do it. (Laughter.) The next thing the congregation did was to increase his father's salary—and, what was more, they paid it. (Laughter.) Previously the salary had not been paid very punctually. The ability to do as they liked produced faith in benevolence, and people began to give to home and foreign missions as they never gave before. The moment the restraint was taken off they began to look at the matter from a Christian standpoint, and inquire how much of their receipts they ought to expend in the service of the Lord.

The Rev. Dr. DEXTER then appealed to his audience to ask questions, as he did not quite appreciate the exact shades of thought which governed inquiries here on this subject; and several questions were asked by the Rev. G. W. Conder, Professor Newth, the Rev. Dr. Waddington, Mr. Tuckett, the Rev. J. S. Withington, Dr. Weymouth, the Rev. Dr. Allon, and others. The substance of Dr. Dexter's replies was as follows:—As to the causes which led to the overthrow of the State Church in New England he thought the main cause was the common sense of the people. It did not work well, and people began to think there was something wrong with it, and to look into it. Another cause was the coming in of different denominations of Christians, and the fact that all people did not think alike. It was felt to be incongruous in a Republic to compel any man to pay for teaching a religion which he did not sympathise with. The case of the Baptists was particularly hard in this respect. As to the opposition to the separation of Church and State, there was opposition at first, and it continued to be persistent though it became gradually obliterated, and of course in the end the majority ruled, comprising as it did those outside who did not belong to the State-Church. He did not at the moment remember how the change was made, but it was by some form of vote of the majority of the people. He could not speak much of the state of affairs in the west and south, which he hoped would have fallen to the lot of Dr. Healy to explain, had he been able to be present. In regard to the disposal of the land which had been appropriated originally to the Establishment, the value of the land was so small that the State-Church could hardly be called an endowed Church; at least, it was not an endowment in the English sense of the word. The original idea of giving land was in order that the minister should have a homestead, and he was, in reality, a farmer. The value of the farm was, in most cases, incon-

siderable. He believed this land was retained by some of the churches. Some of the churches of Boston were pretty well endowed, not by the State, but by individuals. In small towns of say less than 1,000 inhabitants, there were often too many churches; but they were supported by the affections of the people. The number in such places was accounted for by the exertions of the different denominations, and by the fact that every small place was, as a general rule, expected soon to become a large one, and then the demand would be more equal to the supply. As to the method of dealing with original church land, he believed there was no general rule followed, and that each case was decided on its merits. In his own town, an application was made to the general courts to sanction its disposal in a certain way, and an Act was passed giving permission, and the property, which was of small value, was sold. Each case, he believed, was made the subject of special legislation, and so the moral sense of each community was satisfied. The principle of voluntarism was recognised by the public to be better, both in the interest of the teaching of religion, and of the teachers or ministers. The Congregationalists, more especially, had had a growing feeling that endowment in any sense was not good for a church—not even voluntary endowment. Old South Church, Boston, had received, in its early history, a voluntary endowment which was now very valuable; but it was almost the unanimous opinion of denominational Christians that it would have been better for that church if it had not had that endowment, but had been left to voluntary contributions. Endowments always led to bickerings and quarrels; and the denominations were drifting fast to the conclusion that it was a great curse to a church to have any money. As to the number of churches and the salaries of ministers, he believed in New England there were perhaps 800 to 1,000 Congregational churches. With the exception of the salaries paid to Mr. Henry Ward Beecher and some two or three others, the salaries of ministers varied from 7,000 dollars to 3,500 dollars in large towns. In the country the salaries had been increased. His father had 400 dollars—that would be about 75*l.*, and he was "passing rich" on that—but his successor had 1,000 dollars without any large increased ability to pay on the part of the congregation. There was nothing to prevent persons in different townships uniting together to form a church. The only present relation of the State to the Church was that of a friendly guardian compelling the fulfilment of any contracts made with the ministers just as it did in the case of private citizens. As to the effect of the separation of Church and State on the community, there was no doubt in his mind that it had a good effect. In the first place, the moment restraint was taken off religion was looked at from a different standpoint. In the next place, personal responsibility had been developed very strongly, which was a great advantage in the little towns of New England and the West. People learned to love that for which they had sacrificed something, and it was human nature that it should be so. The change had brightened religion, and not dulled it as many expected, and a new and vital power had manifested itself all through the towns and churches. Religion had been immensely quickened. This was perhaps due, to some extent, to Sabbath-schools and young men's Christian societies, and such agencies; but in no sense whatever could be seen any loss to religion from the loss of its connection with the State in America. There was no comparison to be made between the aggressive power of the voluntary churches and that of the old system. The strength of the old system was to sit still; it had no power to go out and be aggressive. He had been asked whether there was any brotherly union in Christ between the different religious bodies in America? He believed human nature was much the same in one country as in another. It was a notion of his that God intended to have a good many religious denominations in the world. He did not believe the time would ever come when all would be of the same Church. If God intended that He would have made man so that he could not be happy except in that one thing. He believed God had made people who could not be happy unless they were Methodists, or unless they were of some particular denomination. He did not care how many denominations there were, so long as they were all one in Christ. To reduce Christian unity into one liturgy, one sort of apparel, and so forth, was contrary to the diversities of human nature which God had created. In conclusion, Dr. Dexter referred to the Episcopalian proclivities in certain official quarters at Washington, but was glad to announce that the influence of Methodism was growing in one quarter.

Mr. HOWARD, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Dexter for his address, referred to a visit he had made to America, and to the ample provision made in that country for education and religion. He quoted a paper of Dr. Fleetwood Churchill, to show that the Church in Canada might have suffered something from want of State support, but she had gained immensely in elasticity and in the power of adapting her means to the wants of an increasing population. Referring incidentally to the present political relations of England and America, Mr. Howard remarked that the President of the United States was a Methodist, and if he would read John Wesley's protest against war, and was one of his disciples, he was quite sure he must be opposed to war. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. ALLON, in seconding the proposition, referred in high terms of encomium to the

personal character of Dr. Dexter, and of his knowledge of the subject on which he had spoken. Dr. Dexter was too modest to indicate how deeply he had entered into the question, and hesitated to commit himself to a position which Englishmen were too apt to assume. Dr. Allon then described a visit he had made to the United States, and to his surprise in finding in one town of about 3,000 people no less than nine churches. He warned his audience not to be misled by Dr. Dexter's information as to the ministers' salaries, but to remember the high cost of living in American towns.

The Rev. Dr. DEXTER, in reply to the vote of thanks, entered into some details as to the method by which small towns in the West became possessed of so many churches; being the result of denominational effort with a view to the rapid growth of Western towns. In respect to the sentiments uttered by Mr. Howard, he thought such a thing as war was hardly possible between the two countries—(Hear, hear)—and if the Governments were so far bereft of common sense as to declare war, he believed the populations would rise up and say, "You have gone thus far, but you shall not go farther." (Applause.)

The Rev. G. W. CONDER proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gilpin, M.P., for presiding.

Mr. E. MIALL, M.P., in seconding the vote of thanks, referred to the disappointment he felt in arriving at the meeting late, as he had counted on hearing what he had no doubt were the encouraging words of Dr. Dexter. He did not think we thoroughly appreciated in this country the strength of the facts connected with the spirit of Christianity in America. He did not think there had been anything like it since the days of the Apostles—he meant the power of the evil to be overcome, and the energy which was combating that power. That was the problem we should have to solve in this country. One great thing to deplore in this country was that three-parts of the Christian power of this country was paralysed by legislative interposition. They must grapple also with the forms of indifference which arose out of the connection between the Church and State. If they could only let vital Christianity grapple with the evils with which religion had to contend, as it did in America, he thought the problem would present a very different aspect to what it presented to-day. He hoped to have heard something very encouraging from that point of view. He trusted, however, that he should have some other opportunity of meeting Dr. Dexter before he left England, when they could have some talk respecting the phenomena which attended the full development of the exercise of the voluntary principle in America. He believed Christianity was equal to anything that could come forward to contend against it; and hence he had not the smallest doubt, unless (which was not at all likely) the American people entangled themselves with the old bondage of ecclesiastical exclusiveness, State aid, or concurrent endowment, that the scum of Europe might be emptied into America, and yet she would be able to survive that trial, and would gradually assimilate all the evil elements of wrong poured into her, to the beauty and glory of true religion at last. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CRUM EWING, M.P., in seconding the motion, alluded to the effects of the voluntary system, which had efficiently provided for the religious wants of the poorest places in Scotland.

The resolution was carried, and the meeting then separated.

CONFERENCE OF EVANGELICAL NON-CONFORMISTS.

THE MULTIPLICATION OF WEAK CHURCHES.

At conference of ministers and laymen of various Evangelical Nonconformist churches, convened by the committee of the Congregational Union, was held last night at the Cannon-street Hotel. There was a good attendance, and the chair was occupied by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P.

The Rev. CHARLES STOVEL having offered prayer,

The Rev. A. HANNAY read a paper explaining the objects of the meeting. At two successive autumnal meetings of the Congregational Union, the undue multiplication of Evangelical Nonconformist churches in thinly peopled districts had been the subject of discussion, it being felt that it threatened to bring Nonconformity into disrepute, and seriously to cripple all free Evangelical agencies.

Among the evils growing out of this state of things were: the multiplication of churches beyond the power of the denomination which they represented to supply them with a healthy and vigorous and well-kept ministry; the waste of money for the support of several places of worship where one would be sufficient; the loss of moral power consequent on the distribution of a few earnest Christian people of a small town among a number of so-called interests instead of uniting in one church; the introduction of a spirit of rivalry between churches; the continuance of religious communities for various purposes far beyond what would be necessary if a healthier system were adopted; the reproach to which their church economy was exposed in the eyes of the nation, which they were bold enough to ask them to accept as the highest form of church life. The question which the committee asked the meeting to consider was not a question between different bodies of Evangelical Nonconformists. It was almost equally a question for some of those bodies—especially, perhaps, the Congregational and Baptist—to consider as a matter of domestic concord. If it was not time the denominations affected should do what they could to repair the mischief which they had already done, it might well be questioned whether the subject was ripe for consideration in any definite shape, but those who

had summoned the meeting hoped that the candid consideration of it by representative men of different denominations would produce such community of thought and feeling as would prepare the way for some efficient plan of action at no distant time. Things could not remain as they were. The times were severely testing all forms of church government. The Episcopal Church would probably ere long have to organise itself upon a new basis; that would be a searching hour, and it would probably be more so for Nonconformist churches. They should welcome the trial even though it were by fire.

According to instructions he had invited to the meeting Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Free Methodists, and Primitive Methodists. Dr. Brock, Dr. Angus, and Dr. Edmond were unable to be present.

The CHAIRMAN said the question which had brought them together was really that of the multiplication of weak churches; whether in districts thinly populated there ought not to exist a greater love for Christ and a more earnest desire to preach Christ than merely to build up a denomination. This could be done without any violation of principle or convictions, which would lead to unpleasant compromise. No one acquainted with the state of things in their churches could doubt the need for something being done. As treasurer of the Congregational Home Missionary Society he could, if needful or desirable, specify a large number of places where there was a weak Baptist interest on one side of the street and a weaker Congregational cause on the other; and, instead of their standing shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, they were literally opposing each other. They must try to see their way to some common mode of action. In a district not many miles from London there was a proposal to build a Congregational, a Baptist, and a Presbyterian chapel, and a friend came to him a few days ago and said it was perfectly clear that whoever got the chapel first would get the people. (Laughter.) He refused to accept that argument, and said he would rather suggest some way by which, if they were really lovers of Christ, they might, for a few years at least, work together until they were enabled to launch out into other churches. In a village with which he was connected he had built a preaching-room, accommodating about 240 people, which was used for preaching the Gospel, and it was felt to be a common ground to which all might go; there was perfect union without requiring any compromise whatever. What they wanted was a recognition of conscience on each side. They would then be able to meet the difficulty existing between themselves and the Baptists.

The Rev. Dr. STOUTON thought one of the great evils of Nonconformity was the large number of weak churches belonging to the denominations. He knew cases in which two weak causes had been united, and the result was the formation of a tolerably strong one. He thought they should discourage the building of new places of worship; it was quite enough to proclaim the great truths of the Gospel without involving themselves in all the difficulties of building a large chapel and having a stated minister. The speaker concluded by moving:—

That it is the opinion of the meeting that the undue multiplication of Protestant Nonconformist churches, especially in thinly populated districts of England, is a great evil by which Nonconformity is brought into disrepute and the interests of religion hindered.

The Rev. Dr. LANDELS, in seconding the resolution, expressed his cordial agreement with the object at which it aimed. He deplored as much as any one the evil complained of, but he saw no remedy except that of creating a public opinion on the matter. He feared there were almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of the object being carried out. The Rev. J. H. WILSON, secretary of the Home Missionary Society, referred to the efforts of the society in connection with county associations to mitigate the evil complained of, by the appointing of lay evangelists and by uniting weak churches. Mr. HEATH wished to know how members were received into the churches referred to by Mr. Wilson. Mr. STOVEL also asked the conditions of membership. Mr. WILSON replied that none were received without evidence of conversion, and if that was given they were accepted. The Rev. Mr. WAUGH thought they should show they were disposed to consider the interests of Jesus Christ rather than the interests of any particular church. The Rev. G. M. MURPHY referred to the previous discussions at Plymouth upon this subject, when it was suggested that there should be mutual co-operation between different denominations, that churches which had the means should refuse the sines of war to churches that were founded upon secession; that no church was to be built within a certain distance of another; and all efforts to set up chapels because of different views should be discountenanced.

The Rev. W. BROCK, jun., thought the church with which he was connected at Hampstead was a practical illustration of the way in which the difficulties had been met. His was a Baptist Church, but Churchmen, Congregationalists, and others, had helped them. Their membership and deaconship were open, and in their contributions they united both the London and Baptist missions.

The Rev. A. HANNAY, having invited remarks from any Presbyterians or Methodists present, read a letter from Dr. Angus, expressing his opinion that the establishment of one strong Evangelical church in small places, instead of two or three weak ones, was very important; he saw nothing to render the thing impracticable, and it was worth trying.

The Rev. Mr. JONES (Brixton-hill) noticed as one of the difficulties the question of property, and the case of ministers attached to the small chapels. He quite agreed that if the small causes were united it would lead to greater capacity to support the ministry, and greater power against error. Mr. WILLIAMS (Chelsea), thought the question of baptism should not be considered a Church ordinance, but that all should meet as simple lovers of the Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. HENRY VARLEY remarked that what was needed at the present time was a very large outgrowth of what he would call the auxiliary power of the Church, the evangelistic agency, the lay agency; this would cause weak churches to become strong. The Rev. J. BALDWIN BROWN thought there was but one way of dealing with the subject, and that was by creating a healthy Christian opinion about it. He would exceedingly deprecate any attempt to deal with it by the hand of authority in any shape or form. Let Mr. Hannay send out such a tract as he could write, and scatter it throughout the country. That would be the only method in harmony with their principles, to bring about a better state of things. The Rev. — SINCLAIR (Presbyterian), thought with a view to unite churches it would be well if councils could be appointed to consider particular cases, those councils to include representatives of several denominations.

Some further discussion subsequently followed. A layman expressed his belief that the true solution of the difficulty was the development of lay agency. Another thought they should stick at nothing so long as members of the united churches believed the Gospel. The Rev. J. PILLANS said he had been connected with a county association for a considerable time, and one of their first questions about any new place was what amount of evangelical agency did they already possess. The Rev. G. D. MACGREGOR thought the cultivation of a kindly feeling between different denominations would do a great deal to smooth away the difficulties in the way of union. A subsequent speaker remarked that he was the angel of seven different churches, not one of which could maintain a pastor; but, although they represented several denominations, they were ultimately united into one church, and they resolved to insert in the trust-deed a clause allowing them to have any minister at any time, and to associate themselves with any church, but under no circumstances whatever could they become a separate and distinct church. Mr. HARTLEY thought a larger committee from that meeting might be appointed to consider some practical methods by which the difficulties might be met, and call another meeting. Mr. C. BURT, after some introductory observations, moved a resolution which, at the suggestion of Mr. Hannay, was slightly altered, and read as follows:—

That a committee of the various representatives of various Evangelical Nonconformist bodies be appointed for the further consideration of the subject brought before this meeting, and to report the result of their deliberation at a future meeting.

After a few words from the Rev. T. AVELING, the resolution was unanimously carried.

After a vote of thanks to the chairman, the Rev. A. HANNAY closed the proceedings with prayer.

THE LATE MR. MURPHY, THE PROTESTANT LECTURER.—The result of the post-mortem examination of the body of the late Mr. Murphy is reported. Mr. Oliver Pemberton states that the immediate cause of death was a most extensive ulceration of the windpipe and back of the throat, which rendered the taking of nourishment or stimulants a matter of difficulty. For weeks past, however, consumption was being developed, and as Murphy was a robust man and there were no traces of consumption in his family, Mr. Pemberton considered that it was impossible not to connect this with the injuries he received at Whitehaven last April. On Monday his remains were interred at Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham, and mainly in consequence of the precautions taken, there was no breach of the peace.

AMERICAN BUSINESS IN LONDON.—The London correspondent of the *New York Tribune* writes:—"One fact cannot be too clearly stated. All the American business and American enterprise which have either their headquarters or their agencies in London are at a comparative standstill. A month ago they were in the full tide of activity, and there was a flow of British capital to America, where much had gone before it, to build our railways, and work our mines, and enrich new States. I need not remind you with what brilliant success Messrs. Jay Cooke, M'Culloch, and Co., had engineered our Funded Loan and the Northern Pacific Loan, and what they hoped to do in connection with the Rothschilds, with their gigantic joint offer to take six hundred million of American securities. There were scores of American applications of every sort in London for capital. Not only Jay Cooke, M'Culloch, and Co., but others of the American financial houses newly established in London, were doing a prosperous business, and daily extending their connections. The disagreement about the treaty has postponed everything. More than one banker has said to me that the losses already incurred on account of this difficulty far exceed anything we shall ever get, or hoped to get, on account of the Alabama claims. This is no argument for waiving any of them; but I repeat it as showing the practical way in which some business men strike a balance-sheet in politics and diplomacy."

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"W. E. Whittingham."—Next week.

"Animo non E-tutio."—It seems to us inexpedient to publish his letter. "Let well alone" is a wise motto.

The Supplement to the *Nonconformist* of Thursday, March 7th, entitled, "The Real Danger to Religion in the Schools; or, Fact v. Sentiment," is now published separately at One Penny a copy, or Six Shillings per 100.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1872.

SUMMARY.

A WEEK ago the House of Commons was still considering the first clause of the Ballot Bill, and that point has not yet been passed, though the whole subject was discussed *usque ad nauseam* last session. Monday was a Government night. The naval estimates were to have come on, but they did not, and the night was wasted. It pleased Mr. Corry to anticipate other motions on Admiralty administration; and so Parliament, when time is so precious, has the cheerful prospect of two naval debates, besides an adjourned discussion on the army estimates. Legislation is really becoming a farce, and the Commons are like a horse in a mill, which is ever making his circuit, but grinding nothing. People open their morning paper, with something like a shudder at the enormous space devoted to purposeless talk in Parliament; the northern members complain that the Scotch Education Bill has little chance of getting through committee, though read a second time a fortnight ago; the publicans are chuckling over the probability that the Home Secretary's "Licensing" Bill will not be carried this year; the Lords, who have next to nothing to do, look on with sardonic apathy; and the Government propose to provide safeguards for our mining population, to give effect to sanitary reform, and to reorganise our judicature, are vanishing in the distance. In less than a week the Easter holidays will commence, and a third part of the session will be irrecoverably gone.

Mr. Dodson, the chairman of committees, has made a creditable attempt to economise the time and toil of Parliament by a proposal to transfer the preliminary consideration of private bills to a permanent judicial tribunal, composed of three special commissioners, who would be invested with power to hear the promoters and opponents of private bills in open court, at various provincial centres as well as in London, and to grant provisional orders. This sweeping reform met with great favour on Friday, for, as Colonel Wilson Patten said, the system of private bill legislation has broken down, and must be altered. Not only has it become

frightfully costly, but members fail to do the committee work. Mr. Dodson is to embody his suggestions in a bill, but it is doubtful whether Parliament will part with any of its prerogatives. Even this reform would do little to prevent the sheer waste of time at the public sittings of the Commons, which is a matter the Government ought to deal with on their own responsibility.

The second discussion on Clause 1 of the Ballot Bill took place on Thursday. It was so far useful as to elicit a general opinion that the legal expenses of candidates at elections should be borne in some way by the public. Mr. Torrens' proposal to throw them upon the Consolidated Fund is open to serious and obvious objections, and was rejected by 362 to 54 votes. The committee has yet to consider Mr. Fawcett's plan of charging the burden upon the local rates, which the Government more heartily support than was the case last year. But the result is doubtful. Many Liberal members, as well as the whole of the Opposition, object to the field for Parliamentary candidates being thrown open. Mr. Disraeli has come out as the ratepayers' champion, and Mr. Fawcett's amendment stands, we fear, but small chance of ultimate acceptance.

The dreary debate of Monday was somewhat relieved by Mr. Childers' vigorous and elaborate defence of his naval administration, which was made in the presence of barely a dozen members! It was a successful vindication of the plan of making the First Lord responsible for the entire department, instead of conducting all business by means of a board. The service is jealous of a concentration of power, and has offered every obstruction to the success of the experiment. Mr. Goschen, however, proposes some administrative modifications. There are to be regular board meetings to consider technical and professional business, the Controller is to be a permanent official, and there is to be another sea lord, a naval secretary, and a director of dockyards. These reforms have still to be discussed, as well as the scheme of army reorganisation.

The National Education League have issued a circular which indicates anything but discouragement with the result of the recent debate on Mr. Dixon's motion. The total strength of the opposition to Mr. Forster's amendment, including several absent by mistake, is estimated at 120 members, most of whom represent large constituencies, including all the leading cities and boroughs in the kingdom; while last year Mr. Dixon only had sixty-two supporters for his motion against the increase of grants to denominational schools. Besides, Mr. Forster's amendment was for nothing more than an arrest of judgment. "Even this demand did not stand upon its merits, for, coupled with it, Mr. Forster voluntarily gave a promise that the Government will next year be prepared for further legislation, in the sense advocated by the League. This promise related to three important points of the Education Act—(1) the compulsory and general establishment of school boards; (2) the general enforcement of attendance at school; and (3) a modification of the 25th clause, empowering school boards to pay fees out of the rates to denominational schools. These promises were understood by the House of Commons as pledges of Government action next year; and accepting them in the same sense, we desire," say the executive committee, "most strongly to impress upon the branches of the League the importance of the pledges thus voluntarily given by the Minister of Education; and to urge the necessity of such general and united action as to render the fulfilment of the Ministerial pledges certain and complete."

Mr. Forster's promises for next year have done nothing to allay local excitement on educational questions. Several important school board elections are pending. At Leicester the contest for a vacant seat on the board turns on the question whether the Bible shall read without comment, or fully explained. The town is divided into two camps, and the struggle has aroused more agitation than even a Parliamentary election. There are also several vacancies to be filled up in the London School Board, and we trust that the Nonconformist ratepayers of Marylebone, Finsbury, and Westminster will not only vote for, but actively support, those candidates who clearly avow their principles.

Prince Bismarck, whose popularity in Germany, in consequence of his determined stand against Ultramontanism, is unprecedented, has retired into the country to recruit his strength. But his opponents allow him no rest. The Archbishop of Cologne has just excommunicated a number of professors at Bonn who have declined to accept the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, notwithstanding that one of his brother prelates has been informed that such acts are

illegal, and required by the Prussian Government to remove the interdict. Dr. Ketteler will find it no joke to defy Prince Bismarck, who has the law and public opinion at his back.

The Government are considering their rejoinder to the American reply on the question of consequential damages, which must be sent off to-morrow. Meanwhile, the Opposition are no longer content to be silent. Last night Lord Derby announced that he should, before the recess, ask for an explanation of Ministerial policy in regard to the Treaty of Washington; and Mr. Disraeli, that after Easter he should "call attention to the state of our relations with the United States." This new aspect of the Alabama difficulty is a serious one. Whether it will tend to hasten a final settlement of the difference is doubtful.

The overthrow of the "Erie Ring," no less than that of the Tammany combination, is now complete. The new board of directors have received full power by the bill passed in the New York Legislature to break down the railway monopoly, and restore the rights of the English shareholders. Jay Gould and his accomplices are no longer on the board, and have transferred their shares.—Everything seems to favour General Grant's re-election to the Presidency next autumn. New Hampshire, where last year the Democrats triumphed, has at this juncture cast its vote for their opponents, and the Republican State Conventions of Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Wisconsin have adopted resolutions in favour of the re-nomination of General Grant.

NEW PHASES OF THE AMERICAN DIFFICULTY.

To the surprise of most persons Mr. Gladstone's statement about the American reply to Lord Granville's despatch gives us reason to hope that a way of escape from the difficulty which has arisen may even now be discovered. We must confess that the chances of saving the treaty are very slender. The difference of interpretation is so radical that no mere compromise appears practicable. Still Mr. Gladstone and Earl Granville are to be commended for their reticence as to the contents of the unfinished correspondence, and for their persistent determination to meet the American Government in a conciliatory spirit. While negotiations are still pending it is manifestly undesirable that the communications which pass between the two Governments should be subjected to hasty or one-sided criticism. We have already seen how much mischief has been done by the use of intemperate language, and the publication of exaggerated statements. For example, it was lately declared that Mr. Fish's original draft of the last despatch was so offensive in its tone that his colleagues deemed a revision of it necessary in the interest of international courtesy, and that even then the despatch was so emphatic a repetition of the extreme American view that no good object could be served by prolonging the controversy. The vague unsubstantial gossip of Washington too often passes for true history, and the result is that a misunderstanding which is in itself serious enough becomes painfully aggravated. In the present instance the Prime Minister informs us not only that the American reply is couched in courteous and friendly terms, but also that it would be premature to assume that there will be any interruption of the judicial proceedings contemplated by the treaty. There is no time to lose, for the date fixed for the presentation of our counter-case is the 15th of April. As the *Times* points out, we should place ourselves in a false position if we presented our counter-case before the two Governments had succeeded in reconciling the different interpretations of the treaty. On the other hand, if Lord Granville's despatch goes out by to-morrow's mail, there is no reason why the substance of the American answer should not be telegraphed in ample time to enable the Cabinet to decide before the 15th proximo whether the counter-case should or should not be presented.

The fact that the American Government have invited a further expression of the views of the British Foreign Office is a very hopeful sign. It implies that President Grant and his colleagues are not disposed to listen to the rash counsels of those who would put an end to a treaty which, in spite of all mistakes, is a *bond fide* endeavour to settle the various disputes which have long embittered the relations of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. We think that enlightened publicists in both countries could not render a better service to the cause of international amity than by frankly pointing out the mistakes which have been committed on both sides. Whatever culpability may be attributed to particular individuals, it is idle to impute to the

American people any intention to overreach us. The Sumnerian view of English responsibility was so generally accepted that, in the popular mind, the settlement of the Alabama difficulty necessarily included the reference to arbitration of the indirect, as well as the direct, claims; while, on this side of the Atlantic, the public was equally unanimous in insisting upon the exclusion of consequential damages from the purview of the Geneva Court. That the treaty did not clear up the point—that its language was so indefinite as to render conflicting interpretations not only possible but inevitable—is a misfortune for which the British Commissioners are as much responsible as their American colleagues. No doubt Lord Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote thought, and had reason to think, that the reference was to be a limited one; but, unless an understanding of this nature is reduced to writing, it becomes of no official value. We have little sympathy with professional diplomacy, but unquestionably an experienced diplomatist would have taken nothing for granted. He would not have jeopardised the interests of his country and his own reputation by failing to insist upon defining terms, and relieving both protocols and treaty of all ambiguities. We believe that the British Commissioners were deceived; but it does not therefore follow that the five astute men against whom they were pitted maliciously intended to deceive them. Under the American Constitution a treaty must be ratified by the Senate; and that body naturally put upon the treaty, not the construction which the Commissioners themselves had presumably agreed to attach to it, but the meaning which the language used was calculated to convey. Thus, if we blame the Americans for taking advantage of a phraseology which was admittedly equivocal and dubious, we do not see how our own representatives can be exonerated from a corresponding share of responsibility. This view is strengthened by the fact that—so we are assured by a colonial authority—Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, expressed grave doubts as to the policy of employing expressions which left the door open to opposite interpretations. It would have been well if Sir John had exhibited a higher degree of moral courage, and had resolutely set his face against the overweening confidence which both sides entertained; but this was, perhaps, too much to expect from a colonial statesman who was not the special guardian of Imperial interests.

While, however, bearing in mind that faults have been committed for which we, not less than the Americans, are responsible, we must not overlook the important considerations which ought to influence them to waive the indirect claims. The fact that they were willing to wipe out all their demands on the British Government on the payment of a lump sum amounting to six millions sterling, was a proof, that they did not attach to the indirect claims the importance with which they are invested in the American case; and, indeed, we believe that one of the gentlemen employed in preparing the case has frankly acknowledged that his Government never at any time imagined that the arbitrators would hold Great Britain liable for a single dollar under this head. But surely these facts point irresistibly to the absurdity of putting forward claims which are not intended to be pressed, and which are simply, used for colourable purposes. It would be unworthy of a great civilised power like the United States to interpose obstacles of so indefensible a character to the execution of the cardinal provisions of the treaty.

Nor must we forget that the treaty covers several other questions besides the Alabama claims—notably the San Juan boundary and the Fisheries disputes. There is probably no reason why the Emperor of Germany should not proceed with the arbitration of the former question; but we suspect that the latter is inextricably bound up with the Alabama imbroglio. At all events, it is no secret that the Imperial Government were disposed to concede to the Americans the fishery privileges which they asked us to surrender, in the hope that these concessions would promote the friendly adjustment of the Alabama claims; and there is also reason to believe that we promised to give Canada a *quid pro quo* for the sacrifice of her rights which she has undoubtedly made. But if one part of the settlement breaks down, we fear that the other will also prove a house of cards. There never was a time when there was more need for good sense and moderation on the part of the two countries. The fact, however, that the treaty is not yet "denounced," and that the American reply is, as we are assured, even anxiously friendly in its tone, is an augury which, while it may lead to false hopes, at all events justifies the anticipation that an earnest effort will be made to

bridge over the gulf which diplomacy has created.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENT AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

THE French National Assembly will shortly adjourn for the Easter recess. On a review of the session at Versailles, which was resumed at the beginning of December, and has lasted, with short intervals, ever since, it cannot be said that in legislative matters they manage things better in France. The proceedings of that chamber are a curious study. They present a series of dissolving views rather than an ordinary means of despatching of public business. The French Legislature, like Mr. Pecksniff's horse, is all action without progress. The Budget—a financial project perhaps unprecedented in magnitude and fatuity in the history of nations—was brought in last autumn. It has been taken up and laid aside, and not till Friday last was the general debate closed. Some new taxes have been imposed and collected, and the public are beginning keenly to feel their effects; others have been abandoned in deference to outdoor pressure. This was thought to have been the fate of the tax on raw materials. But the manufacturing deputation have protested in vain. The Government want some six millions more to meet extraordinary expenditure, and, rejecting the idea of an income-tax, have no other obvious resource but to raise that amount by duties on raw materials. The Assembly, perplexed, baffled, and divided, seems disposed to resign itself in despair into the hands of M. Thiers, and to vote what he demands.

It is probable that the President is not sorry to prolong this financial uncertainty. It gives him a secure hold upon the Assembly—a body which, be it remembered, cannot be dissolved by the Executive, which possesses powers such as no other representative body in Europe enjoys; and which has, of its own motion, constituted a reserve Parliament out of the Councils-General, legally authorised to act in case the Versailles Assembly should be overthrown. Once and again a political crisis has seemed imminent, and the Monarchists have been on the point of launching their programme. But M. Thiers took a resolute stand against these intrigues, and on his threats of appealing to the country, the pilgrimage to Belgium to pay homage to the Legitimist pretender ceased, and the Fusionist manifesto came to naught. Week by week a demonstration on behalf of the Papacy has been imminent. But that also stands adjourned till after Easter. The Ultramontanes, like the Royalists, have been obliged to yield to the necessities of the situation. Their great debate has not come off, but the attitude they have assumed, and the ambiguity of the Government on this subject, have excited alarm in Italy, and thrown Victor Emmanuel and his Ministers into the arms of Germany. No policy could be more suicidal if France is nursing her revenge. A possible ally has been needlessly alienated. And this seems all at once to have struck M. Thiers, who has suddenly appointed a Minister to the Italian Court, and given Mgr. Dupanloup the cold shoulder.

The President and the Assembly are a mutual check on each other. If the Monarchists, albeit a majority, cannot either re-erect the throne or restore the temporal power, they can successfully thwart the Government in their desire to return to Paris, put their foot on M. Jules Simon's liberal Education Bill, prevent the passing of an arbitrary press law—which is as much directed against royalist as imperialist clamour—and check M. Thiers in his Protectionist leanings. The exciting debates which frequently occur are a safety valve for partisan bitterness, and seem to yield no permanent ill effects. The Assembly, acting, it is supposed, in accord with French feeling, has hardly criticised the enormous estimates for expenditure, though it has stoutly contested the Government scheme of taxation. At length, however, the cry of the taxpayers has been heard. Although M. Thiers declares that he cannot economise, and that he must have his army of 1,200,000 men, his new system of fortifying Paris and the Eastern frontier, and his reserve fund, he has been obliged to yield something to outward pressure, and has consented to reduce the war budget by three-quarters of a million, and to lighten the proposed tax on textile fabrics. But he has had his way relative to the British Treaty of Commerce, which has been formally "denounced," though the new tariff, so far as respects this country, cannot come into operation till next year.

The Provisional Republic of France shows not a few signs of vitality. It has lasted more than a year, and bids fair to survive till at least

the last German soldier has recrossed the frontier. The Legitimists have no hold on the country, and the Orleanist Princes have not increased their popularity. As for the Imperialists, they will be long execrated as the primary cause of the heavy taxation which is pressing upon all classes. Recent elections, as well as other events, have made it evident that the President is more trusted by the French people than the National Assembly, and that they would view with less aversion the definite proclamation of the Republic than the restoration of the Monarchy. A *coup d'état* would be only possible by military aid, and there is no evidence that the army is favourable to any pretenders to the throne, or that they would desert President Thiers in the hour of need. Happily for France there is not the remotest prospect that she will, for years to come, be in a position to renew hostilities with Germany. Meanwhile there is a reasonable hope that, with the heavy burdens entailed by useless armaments, the policy of revenge will become unpopular, and that the French will discover the surest means of national recovery to be found in a reduction of armies and economical expenditure.

MR. BAXTER AND HIS ASSAILANTS. (BY A STRANGER.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, TUESDAY, March 19, 1872.

There was a scene in the House on Friday evening the like of which I never saw there before, and it was one which I confess stirred me a good deal. It is very rarely—with me at least—that any debate really quickens the blood, and I sit generally an unmoved spectator of the most fiery altercation, and am perfectly passive under the most glowing eloquence. But on Friday, for reasons which will presently appear, I was not unmoved—nay, if I had been a member I could not have held my tongue.

To explain matters I must go back a little. Last Monday week Sir John Hay asked Mr. Goschen "whether a penalty of 633*l.* for non-fulfilment of a contract for navy canvas [was inflicted on the firm of Messrs. Baxter Brothers, of Dundee, by the Board of Admiralty in November, 1868, and whether it was true, as reported, that the fine had been remitted or repaid, and at what date the remission occurred." The venom of this question lay in its reference to Messrs. Baxter Brothers, for they are near relatives of Mr. Baxter, the member for Montrose; and if the fine was remitted it must have been remitted by him, because in December, 1868, he became Financial Secretary of the Admiralty. Mr. Goschen's reply was that there was no fine inflicted in 1868, but that one had been inflicted in 1867. He could find no trace of its remission, nor could he find anybody who had ever heard of its remission. Naturally, therefore, he called upon Sir John Hay to say who had furnished the information to him. A grave—a most gross—imputation, had been cast upon a high official of unimpeachable integrity, and it was only just that its author should be disclosed. Sir John Hay, after he got his answer, made no sign. In decent society, if a gentleman happens to insinuate inadvertently that another gentleman has been picking pockets, and subsequently discovers that he is wrong, he does his best to make amends; but the hatred of the service of which Sir John is a gallant member to Mr. Baxter is so bitter that the ordinary laws of courtesy and good behaviour are of no account.

Seeing this, Mr. Eykyn, the member for Windsor, instantly put a notice on the paper to ask Sir John Hay "to state the authority on which he founded the question to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and in the event of his not being prepared to state such authority whether he will either substantiate or withdraw the implied reflection on a department of the State and an honourable member of the House."

The question was set down for Friday, and the interest it excited was great. I was afraid that it would never actually be put. I knew that Sir John Hay could prove nothing, and I did not believe that he would dare to allow the question to be put. But he was so blinded by party and personal fury that he would not yield—happily for Mr. Baxter. When Sir John rose to reply to Mr. Eykyn there was profound silence. He read his speech from a written document, and even up to the last moment he evidently considered himself unassailable, for his manner was defiant in the extreme. I have no space to reproduce exactly what he said, but no authority was given, and there was nothing in his statement more satisfactory than the last sentence, which was to the effect that "as his inquiry related to a question of fact he had no accusation to substantiate nor any reflection to

withdraw." This was very unsatisfactory, but the Tories cheered eagerly. They were deluded for the moment by the ring of Sir John's closing periods, by his statuesque attitude, and by the dramatic fling with which he threw himself down on his seat; and they did not consider what his position actually was.

The tables were soon turned with a vengeance—literally with a vengeance. Mr. Childers craved permission of the Speaker to make a personal explanation. With admirable self-possession and calmness he recapitulated the facts of the case. Sir John Hay, he observed, had originally asked whether the fine imposed on Messrs. Baxter, Brothers, had been repaid. Being challenged to produce the authority for the report on which his question was founded, he refused to produce it, and by implication gave the House to understand that he believed in it; that is to say, he gave the House to understand that he believed the fine was repaid by the present Administration under the influence of a relation of the firm which had been called upon to pay it. At this point the cheering from the Liberal side became enthusiastic, and Sir John's face, always white and bloodless, looked as if the blood had abandoned it altogether. Sir James Elphinstone, seeing the turn affairs were taking, made a discreditable attempt to stop Mr. Childers, and, sticking both his hands into his pockets, rose to order. "There was no question before the House." There had been no question before the House this session on a tenth part as interesting in many respects as the one then before it, and the Speaker properly ruled that Mr. Childers might proceed. He therefore went on to remind the House that the First Lord had officially denied the slander point blank, and yet Sir John still permitted, and even sanctioned, its currency! He had, it is true, announced his intention of moving for a return which he considered would clear up the matter, but after the First Lord's denial, what return could be of any possible value? Here the cheering became more vehement, and Sir John looked still paler. Mr. Childers continued. To prevent any possibility of mistake he had applied to Messrs. Baxter, Brothers, of Dundee, and he would read to the House the telegram he had received from them. They had never asked for a remission of the fine from the present Government, feeling a delicacy in even approaching them on the subject. He therefore appealed to the Speaker whether Sir John should not be compelled to withdraw the libel of which he had been guilty.

While the cheers echoed again and again as Mr. Childers sat down, Sir John and his friend Sir John Pakington held a brief conference. I made sure that they were arranging the terms of the apology—but no, they were determined even then not to give a way. Sir John Pakington, assuming his most knowing look, rose to put one question, and "if it was answered, a good deal of trouble might be saved. Had the fine ever been paid?" The extraordinary emphasis of the words underlined showed that Sir John Pakington fully believed he had transfixed Mr. Childers, and the Tories, again deluded, applauded him as vehemently as they had just applauded Sir John Hay. It was all an evasion, then. Of course the fine had never been remitted, because it had never been enforced! One minute more and they hoped to see their Achilles (Pakington) dragging his foe at his chariot-wheels round Troy town. But, alas! Mr. Childers was fully prepared. Knowing, probably, that his enemy would fall into the trap if it were only left open wide enough, he had carefully forborne to say in so many words that the fine was paid, although he had the evidence behind him. "I am in a position," he said, to "state distinctly that the fine was paid, and I will give the date. (Immense cheers.) A penalty of 637*l.* and some shillings was abated from a sum of 708*l.* due to Messrs. Baxter for navy canvas, delivered under contract on Nov. 12, 1867. The difference between 637*l.* and what was due to Messrs. Baxter was paid by a bill on Jan. 17, 1868, nearly twelve months before the honourable baronet ceased to be a member of the Board of Admiralty."

The exposure and the disgrace were now complete, and Sir John Hay had nothing to do but to capitulate at discretion. He did it, though, with execrable taste. He acknowledged he had been mistaken, but he should move for the return to which allusion had been made in order to see to whom the remissions had been allowed. As to his authority he was dumb. Mr. Childers tried to get it out of him; but it was of no use. The truth is, I believe, that Sir John Hay had repeated some foolish gossip which he had obtained from somebody in the Admiralty, whose name he dared not

reveal. One thing at least we know, that his son is a clerk in the Admiralty, and is of course an ever open channel of communication between his father and the mutineers there against the present administration. He was driven completely in a corner, and was much agitated. All he could do was to appeal to Mr. Corry to tell the House that the source of the information was a person of character. Mr. Corry apparently did not much like having to interfere, and responded gruffly, in half-a-dozen words, that what his honourable friend had stated was correct. Mr. Childers saw that any further attempt was useless, and, his victory being so complete, he could afford to stay the pursuit. So the scene ended, excepting that Sir James Elphinstone was stupid enough to try what seemed as if it were going to be some sort of a justification, but was pulled down by those who sat next to him.

I have not been at the pains to write all this merely for the sake of amusing your readers. There are just two morals which I should like to draw. One is that by our present system of representation and government persons of far more than average feebleness frequently are raised to the most important offices in the State. Sir John Hay has been a Lord of the Admiralty, and when we have another Conservative Government will be a Lord of the Admiralty again. If we should ever happen to go to war when he is in power, he will have to play an important part in defending the country, and yet there are few persons whom I know who would have done such a silly thing as that which he did on Friday. One would have thought that in the House of Commons a man would not open his lips without being as sure of his facts as of the multiplication table, and that he would take special pains with them when he was going to prefer a solemn indictment of personal corruption. Sir John could not have spent five minutes of inquiry over them. Fancy the direction of military operations being placed in such hands as his! No doubt the moral that our rulers are not the wisest of men will appear to many to be a silly truism. So, perhaps, it may be, but it presented itself to me with exceeding force—vehemently appealed to me—I may even say during this debate, and my readers must excuse my mentioning it. Sometimes the value of an impression does not depend upon its novelty but upon its power. That sin is evil is, I suppose, the most commonplace of all commonplaces, and yet the most precious of all truths when we rightly estimate how evil sin is. Another moral is that manners are no monopoly of the "officers and gentlemen." The finest gentlemen that have sat in the House have not belonged to the officers-and-gentlemen class, nor have they been to Eton or Oxford. Eton and Oxford are fetishes which the British snob worships. "If they do not teach science," I was told the other day, "they at least teach a man how to behave." If they do, their success is not so conspicuous—so far at least as my experience goes—that any of us need grieve if we have to be content with Glasgow or Gower-street.

MEN AND THINGS IN AMERICA.

(By a Cosmopolitan.)

THE ALABAMA CRISIS.

You may learn an instructive lesson from the question now at issue between England and the United States. The American papers, headed by Horace Greeley in the *Tribune*, and by the *Herald*, have sung daily for some time variations of the old French tune, "*Perfidie Albion*." What does all this amount to as an expression of the real sentiments of the people? Nothing, absolutely nothing.

Is Jonathan going to war with John in order to enforce payment of the "little bill" arising out of the Alabama affair? As a sententious Yankee of my acquaintance remarks, "Not if he knows it." I am daily among Americans who come from the East, West, North, and South, and I have not yet seen the man who has any idea of fighting for such a cause.

I am pleased with the calm good sense with which the citizens laugh at "that little game of the Government" in the matter of the treaty. Editors may fire away with blazing quills, and Senators may fret and fume, but the sovereign people have no inclination whatever to get out of temper.

The saddest reflections arising out of the whole matter are the conclusions which are forced on every candid mind, that the editorial profession in America have no sufficient sense of their responsibilities in relation to public opinion. One would have expected to see great writers holding back rather than hounding on the war feeling. Especially would we, who bore "the heat and burden of the day" on behalf of the North during the rebellion,

have hoped to find Horace Greeley and the Republican party remembering how the Alabama was condemned by the popular voice in the Old Country from beginning to end of its miserable career.

Is it Free Trade, or what, that poisons the mind of the Republican party against us? Whatever be the cause it is certainly one of the things that, as Lord Dundreary says, "no fellow can make out," that the Republicans, whom we have regarded as the natural allies of the British Radicals, are systematically "down" on us. I regret to record the fact, but it would be untruthful not to say that the Democratic papers have been far more just to England in this Alabama crisis than their political opponents. Doubtless there are good party reasons for this. The Treaty of Washington was the work of a Republican Government and political exigencies demand that, under such circumstances, whatever is should be set down as wrong.

It has, however, been the custom of the English Reformers to overlook Republican lunacies on Protection, and to regard with admiration and hope the Republicans as the party of progress. We have allowed Charles Sumner to repay us with slander and abuse for the sympathy we gave him when he appealed for England's verdict on the savage assault of the weak and puny Preston S. Brooks on the big Senator from Massachusetts. We have borne with Horace Greeley's fanaticism, and we have never reminded our American cousin of the time when Thurlow Weed, Henry Ward Beecher, and R. J. Walker, were sent on a mission to London to beseech the kindly sympathy of England for the North against the South. But this is no time to be silent, and I rejoice to see that those with whom I was proud to labour in the London Emancipation Society have so many of them spoken out and spoken nobly. It may in this year of grace matter little to the Republican party whether they have the sympathy of English reformers or not, but none know better than the editor of the *Nonconformist* and myself how different was the state of affairs when North and South were in a death-grapple. Are we to forget the professions of eternal friendship that we received from Northerners in Europe who asked us for "the moral assistance of the British people"? If these professions were a sham—be it so. Only let no Republican henceforth charge "ingratitude" on England.

"Indirect damages," forsooth! Have the bellicose editors reflected on the "indirect damages" England sustained? Have they forgotten the heroism of tens of thousands of Lancashire operatives who were not "indirectly," but "directly," ruined by the cotton famine? Do they remember that not even death itself could frighten these heroic men into sympathy for a slave power? When they "think on these things," and remember how the United States has repaid us, surely American editors might repeat the responses to the Litany with advantage to their souls.

I have carefully read the English and American papers, and I am indeed rejoiced to see that while on this side there has been exaggeration and abuse, in England there has been only judicial calmness, not unmixed with sorrow at the conduct of the Yankee hucksters who prepared this miserable "case." The *Tribune's* London correspondent has informed Horace Greeley's readers that hatred of America was still existent. I never in my life met with any hatred of America worth notice in England, and after reading the leaders of the London and provincial press I am positively astounded at the *Tribune* writer's assertions. While the *Herald* and other papers here have talked of collecting the Alabama claims at "the point of the bayonet," I have read in the English press only dignified regret at the monstrous demands of the American Government.

There has been so much Spread-Eagleism about, that perhaps a little John-Bullism may do good. Let the fact be hidden as it may, the truth is the United States are in no condition to fight. The South, held as conquered territory, is as one man bitterly opposed to a war on the pretexts of the hour. Read what the *Richmond Dispatch*, a leading Democratic paper, says:—

It would be shameful—an outrage upon humanity—for the United States to go to war with England upon such a question. The claim for indirect damages is in itself an insult to Great Britain, as well as to the arbitrators before whom it is preferred. To go to war to compel England to settle such a claim would be to put ourselves outside of the pale of civilisation—to become *hostes humani generis*.

In another leader the same paper says:—

Lawyers often demand twenty thousand dollars damages when they have no expectation of getting five thousand. They wish to allow the jury a wide margin for deductions. The American claim for consequential damages must be classed with such cases. No sensible

man expects the claim to be allowed; and if it were allowed, the British Government would never pay it. John Bull would not suffer more in reputation or in money from an unsuccessful war with Uncle Sam than he would suffer from being such a coward as to pay this claim, whether it be allowed or not. The Administration does not expect it to be seriously considered. Indeed, if it were allowed, we should declare that the object of the arbitrators was to compel Great Britain and the United States to go to war. The claim involves too much. If we can demand consequential damages, Great Britain has a right to file offsets such as these: that the removal of General McClellan from the head of the Federal army prolonged the war; that Beauregard's atrocities at New Orleans and elsewhere exasperated the rulers of the Confederate States, and made them obstinate in their refusal to stop the war; that Mr. Lincoln's conduct, and Mr. Stanton's cruelty, and General Grant's mulishness, were factors in its prolongation; and hundreds of other such pleas. It is as easy to calculate how much of the waste of treasure in bringing the contest to an end is due to these causes as to calculate how much the neglect on the part of Great Britain cost the United States in consequential damages.

We do not believe, and we have never believed, that a war will grow out of the Treaty of Washington. If one should, its cost will be another item to be added to the consequential damages growing out of the escape of the Confederate cruisers from British waters.

The *Richmond Whig* is yet more outspoken:—

Mr. Fish is a man of sense. He fully appreciates the situation. He knows that the Washington Government, since its merciless tyranny in the South, is in no condition to enter on a war with a foreign nation. For the one Ireland that might harass England, he dreads the possibility of having half-a-dozen or more Irelands on his own hands.

Were the North to attempt to prick up John Bull with "the point of the bayonet," there would be something worse than Ku Klux in the South. And although it is all very well to describe England on paper as a third-rate power, there are none better satisfied than the officers of Uncle Sam's army and navy that Great Britain would be a foe very different to the ragged and half-starved though brave Southerners, whom it took years to subdue. The attitude of England is just as it should be, fearless and yet courteous, dignified but firm.

We are still waiting to know what General Grant will do, and it is probable that ere this reaches you the telegraph will have told you what fate has decided. The probabilities are, that the ingenuity which invented a *bogus* "bill of costs" against England will also devise a way of peacefully "squaring the accounts." That there will be war nobody believes; but whatever the result, the conduct of America in this matter will stand on record as an example that even Yankees may be "too smart by half." As for the Republican party, time will show whether the people will any longer submit to even "the appearance of evil" in high places. If General Grant persists in his "case," it will be one more proof that a Government professedly "of the people, for the people, by the people," has degenerated into an oligarchy "of the bureaucrats for the bureaucrats." And this within a century from George Washington!

OUR PEASANTRY AWAKENING.

THERE seems to be a screw loose in the rural districts. Somehow or other, the farm labourers do not appear to be quite so contented as the bucolic orators at agricultural banquets would lead us to believe. They say little, but they evidently think a good deal, and to some purpose, if we may judge from their recent utterances. Bumble himself could not have been more astounded at Oliver Twist asking for "more," than are our farmers and landlords at the audacity of Hodge requesting an advance of sixpence per day, and a little additional time for rest. But there is no mistaking the stern logic of facts. The hitherto despised hinds are not to be cajoled by the fine words uttered by aristocratic patrons and patronesses, nor to be patted into slavish submission by the jewelled hands of the wearers of purple and fine linen. They have suffered too deeply, have borne too much, to be duped by flattery. Their time has come, and they know it. Will Fearnley has graver things to attend to than receiving paltry prizes—even though they may consist of illuminated certificates of merit, or pepper and salt suits with brass buttons complete—for preferring to starve on fourteen shillings per week, rather than patronise the workhouse. The great labour question has reached the peasantry. Their cheap papers have told them how the artisans and operatives in the great towns are demanding and obtaining higher wages and reduced hours of labour, and they cannot see why they should not do the same.

And so the movement has spread with the rapidity of wildfire throughout the whole agricultural counties. In Lincolnshire, in Worcestershire, in Leicestershire, in Derbyshire, in the North, in the East, in the West, in the South, the labourers are meeting, now in scores, now in hundreds, sometimes in the open air, sometimes in the village clubroom, and demanding an increase of wages as the alternative of emigrating. It is clear that we have all

along misunderstood Hodge. At some of the labourers' meetings there have been utterances, which, for good sense, sound reasoning, and true discrimination of the rights of labour and capital, have not been surpassed within the walls of St. Stephen's. If a few of our legislators could be prevailed upon to attend some of these meetings, they would learn more respecting the actual condition of the farm-labourer than they could obtain from the perusal of a wagon-load of blue-books and Parliamentary papers. In their own quaint and homely way the labourers tell the simple story of their lives, with all their bitter privations and trials, as if such things were a simple matter of course. At one of these meetings a labourer said:—

I've been a labourer since the year 1834, and been accustomed to all kinds of agricultural work. I've often heard it said that anybody will do for a labourer, so long as they are strong and silly enough. I told this to my master one day, and he said, "Why your business is the honourableness on the face of the earth. No right-thinking man would ever have made such a remark. It's a trade that is never learned." I told him I liked it, and that I gave a preference to it over any other. I've been a hard-working man who has had to bring up a large family, not less than twelve, so I've had a little experience. Many's the time I've gone out early, and returned home late, footsore, and hungry, and weary. I've been out to work for a shilling and threepence a day. But that wasn't the hardest. I remember the time when me, and my wife, and two children went out to work for 1s. 6d. a day—not 1s. 6d. each, but the lot of us for 1s. 6d.

This man's case was not exceptional. Every labourer seemed to have the story to relate of large families and scanty wages; of long weary struggles to keep the wolf from the door, and of sufferings that were a shame to humanity. But these men have never despaired. They knew that this miserable state of affairs could not last for ever. Listen again to our labourer:—

This movement hasn't come on me unexpected. I've thought of it for years past, and have watched it coming as much as any man. Emigration's hed something to do with this. Why we think no more of going to America than we used to think of going up to London on a stage-coach. And cheap papers have had something to do with the movement. Thank God for the poor man's paper, say I. "Late this morning," says master, looking sour and crabbed. "Yes, sir: I had to wait five minutes for my paper." "What do you want with a paper?" he says. The fact is they can't bear education; but it's come. I've been a Sunday-school teacher thirty years, and I don't regret it. Teach your children as well as you can: let 'em have good sound reading, but none of your novels, and not too much music and singing. A good homely education'll do 'em good, for then they'll be able to read about the rise and fall in the markets. A man who can't read, an 'who can't enter into conversation, must be miserable.

No wonder the landlords and the clergy hate the cheap papers, but they cannot prevent them from being read. The cheap press is doing more than all the other social and political forces combined to improve the condition of the agricultural labourer, for it is teaching him to help himself. But why should the cheap papers be denounced? Have the landlords forgotten the days of ignorance and a taxed press, when instead of men having resort to arguments at public meetings, ricks were burnt, bailiffs waylaid and beaten, landlords shot, and a complete system of terrorism established? The cheap press has done more than a whole army to preserve order. It has shown the labourers that there is no need to resort to intimidation to accomplish their objects. Here is the result of the much-disputed newspaper teaching:—

I'm not a union man exactly, for I believe unions have brought thousands to beggary, simply because there's been a fund for the men to fall back upon. Men—not honest good dealing men—have induced the workmen to strike when their masters have entered into large contracts, and got half way through with the work. Now that's a wrong thing to do. When they know the conditions of their master's contract, and begin with it, they're not men if they don't carry it out. And these strikes did a great deal of harm in another way; they drove some of the best trade to other countries. But to go back to emigration. Labourers are emigrating by thousands, and if the same thing goes on three or four more years, where will England be? Masters may hold out now, but I hope they won't, for they're beginning to see that if emigration continues they'll be forced to give way in a year or two. The best men won't be humbugged here much longer: they've had enough of it. If they don't get better pay here, off they'll go. Many men, however, are forced to stop in England because they haven't the means to go. But fares are getting reduced, and many of us would be able to get assistance from friends in America. There are very few of us who have not either sons or daughters or connections in America, and most of us are often receiving cheering letters from 'em. I don't say they all do well there, for there's some who won't try to do well anywhere. The farmers are sufficiently wide awake to know this—that if they don't give us more money now, it'll be worse for them after a bit, for the labourers who remain in England will be all old men who can't work for them, or young 'uns who want.

These are not the men to be treated like children, or be patted on the back into good humour. They evidently mean what they say. There is no beating about the bush, no shirking the points at issue; they hit the nail on the head at once, in a honest, manly, straightforward way, which has secured for them the respect even of their opponents. They certainly have the best of the argument. One of them said the other day, "Some intelligent people laugh at us labourers because we ain't got education. Let the farmers raise our wages, and then we can find money to educate our children." He was followed by another, who said,

"They say, 'Why don't you send your bairns to school?' The fact is, we ain't got the money to pay for 'em." They are evidently fully alive to the advantages of education; to obtain a "bit of schooling" for their children seems to have become the principal ambition of most of the men. It is touching also to note the simple faith, the sturdy Puritanical feeling which yet lingers amongst our peasantry. Here are a few sentences of which no man might be ashamed, yet the speaker was but a common labourer:—

Should we get what we want, I hope, as honest men, we shall do the best for our employers. I for one would wish for more time for the proper cultivation of my mind. I'm glad I live in the times that I do, in the times of newspapers—and everybody should read them. In the time of cheap literature we can study at home at night, and read that good old book, the Bible. (Hear, hear.) We can spend part of our time in prayer and in visiting the sick.

There speaks the grand old English spirit, that which has done more than all our fleets and armies to render this country great and powerful. This poor labourer, in his labour-stained clothes, with his furrowed brow and horny hands, was a true gentleman, more so than many of the elaborately-attired individuals from Belgrave or May Fair who daily sun themselves in the club-windows at Pall Mall. But we have not yet done with our quotations. Here is another:—

I'm no advocate for Saturday-night drinking, and if I thought shorter time would tend to that, I wouldn't say another word. My advice to you is—stop at home on Saturday nights, and shave clean, and then your wives will look as pleasant as young brides. Many of us, in winter, never see our wives by daylight, except on Sundays; and it's hard for a wife, when after she's been struggling all the week, mending clothes and studying how to use proper economy, her husband deserts her for the public-house. If you lay out a penny wrong, you'll not be able to make both ends meet. If you leave work earlier, the temptation to do wrong will be strong, and if you don't resist it, your wives will wish you had longer hours again. I wish you God speed in this movement. You must study yourselves, and you must study your poor boys too.

How Cobbett would have rushed forward to give that speaker a hearty shake of the hand. "Poor Richard" never gave more sensible advice, yet the speaker was only a poor farm labourer. After this let us spare our sneers. Hodge does not deserve them. What does all this portend? The farmer will tell us "a demand for another sixpence per day." We think it signifies more—a coming social revolution. The farm-labourers, so long the industrial Pariahs of this country, have learned to think; they are no longer mere machines. They have become affected by the spirit of progress, and feel their souls filled with new aspirations. Is this a matter for regret? Certainly not. So long as they remained plunged in the slough of ignorance and neglect they constituted one of our gravest social dangers. It is well for us that the work of rescue has been commenced in good time.

HABITUAL DRUNKARDS.—A select committee is now sitting in London to inquire into the best method of treating habitual drunkards. Mr. Smith, governor of Ripon Prison, and Mr. Webster, of the Hull Prison, were examined the other day. They both agreed that drunkenness is on the increase, and that short sentences are of no use. The former suggested that further power should be given to the justices in petty sessions in order that after a given number of convictions they might be at liberty to send an offender for a longer period to prison or to some other convenient place, and with hard productive labour to enable him to earn something during his confinement.

VICTORIA (PHILOSOPHICAL) INSTITUTE.—A meeting of this institute took place at 8, Adelphi-terrace, Strand, on Monday, Charles Brooke, Esq., F.R.S., in the chair. Several additional members were elected, and, in announcing their names, Captain F. Petrie, the honorary secretary, stated that thirty-seven new members had been admitted since January, which was an improvement even on last year, when ninety-one had joined. Dr. Bateman then read a paper on "Darwinism tested by recent Researches as to the Localisation of the Faculty of Speech." Having called attention to Mr. Darwin's statement, that the difference in mind between man and the higher animals was one of degree and not of kind, he proceeded to show that such could not be the fact, and instanced the faculty of articulate language, a distinctive attribute of which there was no trace in the ape or other animals. After defining articulate language, he demonstrated that it was exclusively man's prerogative, and there was no analogy between it and the forms of expression common to the lower animals. He then stated that it had been thought that a particular part of the brain was the seat of language, and, if it were so, the Darwinian might contend that, as there was a certain similarity between the brain of man and of the ape and other animals, that they had the germs of the faculty. He then cited many cases which had been brought under the notice of German, French, American, English, and other surgeons, to show that even where various portions of the brain had been injured or destroyed, the faculty of speech remained. He concluded by stating that the faculty of articulate speech seemed to be an attribute the comprehension of which was at present beyond us. The discussion which followed was remarkable, as showing how various are the views held by many on the subject.

Literature.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND.*

This second portion of Mr. Hunt's solid and valuable work, which appeared a short time ago, will be warmly regarded by many theological students. Mr. Hunt's investigations have been so thorough; he is so anxious to do everyone the fullest justice; has such an unflinching determination to lose sight of no great point, while yet keeping strictly within the limits which he originally set himself, that his work may be regarded as one of the most learned and complete, in its own department, which has yet been published in this country. The faults which may be found in it are faults rather of plan than of execution.

The present volume embraces the period from 1660 down to the end of the seventeenth century. It was a stirring era, full of difficulty, strife, and questioning. Political changes were rife, and with them came ever new dilemmas, derived from theological determinations: the futile efforts of James to unite and conciliate the various sects and parties; the accession of William and Mary and the Non-juring controversy; the new Quaker uprising and the Baptist revival; the Toleration Act; the abortive union of Presbyterians and Independents; the great Trinitarian controversy, and Emlyn's Arianism; the spread of Unitarianism and of Deism; and the great debates that ensued. Mr. Hunt has presented the salient features in these controversies with clearness and skill; has condensed, now and then, into a few striking paragraphs the wearisome dissertations wrapt away in half-forgotten folios and pamphlets; and has produced what is really an indispensable epitome and index for every theological library. Perhaps the result of a lifetime's reading and research were never gathered up more faithfully or presented with less waste of space. There is little to criticise in Mr. Hunt's work in detail. He has as nearly realised what he intended as was almost possible to him. His style is admirably suited to his purpose, and he is impartial as far as a rationalistic Broad Churchman may be.

But Mr. Hunt has not wholly escaped from giving verge to his own sentiments and opinions, though these are in few cases directly indicated. In the preface to the first volume of the work, Mr. Hunt had said:—

"I have tried to avoid making inferences, wishing rather to state facts honestly, believing that in every case the inferences which I should make will be made inevitably by all impartial minds. I am dissatisfied, and I suppose most men are, with the spirit in which the history of religion in England is generally written. If it is the work of a Churchman, it takes the form of a defence of the Church of England; if by a Nonconformist, it is a defence of Nonconformity."

Yet Mr. Hunt's work is an implicit defence of the Church of England, notwithstanding that he confesses that her "present comprehensive" character is a result of history, and not in any "sense the product of the intention of any 'party'; and a distinct apology for, and recommendation of, rationalistic and semi-Unitarian views. These are all the more effective that they are nowise obtruded, but diffused through the whole work, and only to be detected by the presence of a certain tone whenever certain men or questions are dealt with. We are at one with Mr. Hunt in many of his opinions; but we do not always admire his method of expressing them. It is beyond measure clear, for example, that Mr. Hunt has intense dislike to Calvinism. It even extends to Calvinists, though he professedly has to do with opinions and not with men. And if he does not show his dislike warmly, it is only because we can infer from his book that, although he has capacities for many things, he has little capacity for sympathetic warmth or enthusiasm. He sometimes defends the Puritans, but those of them whom he most admires were the men whose Calvinism was doubtful. Mr. Hunt has thus forcibly written of John Goodwin: "He was an Independent in principle, but among the Independents he was rather as 'an outcast from them than as one of them.' He stood isolated, and no party has had an interest in doing justice to his memory. But 'no man of that age had more advanced views, both in religion and what concerned civil government. No man brought a clearer head to 'the many questions that had helped to bring confusion to the Church and the nation.'" Now all this may be quite true; but clearness of head at least was certainly not wanting to some of Goodwin's opponents, and might also have been recognised, if men were thus to be character-

* *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century. A Contribution to the History of Theology.* Vol. II. By the Rev. JOHN HUNT, M.A., Author of "An Essay on Pantheism." (London: Strahan.)

ised. On the other hand, Mr. Hunt's epitomes of the theology of such men as Owen and Bunyan is unconsciously strained, and leaves out of view many qualifying elements. Hence it often looks like mere caricature; because, while Mr. Hunt professedly reports on opinions and not on men, there is ever in these cases an oblique glance at the men, without the delicate fancy and sympathy that would have found out and fixed on the point of character that justified the opinion to him who held it. Indeed we are doubtful if it is possible to write a satisfactory history of theology on the plan Mr. Hunt has professedly adopted. Mr. Alfred Vaughan showed superior insight when he threw his work on the Mystics into the form which he finally chose. All great theological and philosophical opinions have their roots in complicated personal feelings and tendencies of mind. It is, for example, utterly impossible to interpret the theology of John Bunyan faithfully without reference to the intense inward struggles by which he reached certainty in it at the last. It was impossible for Bunyan to rest rationally in the truth; and why it was so impossible for him to do so, should make even the rational critic throw in some grain of sympathy in summing up his theology, which otherwise is certain to look terribly absurd in its grotesque awfulness. It was awful to Bunyan, however, without being anyway grotesque, incongruous, or absurd; and this is the reason why he has a place in English theology at all. His theology is not to be understood apart from his character, and that is to be best seen in his practical works, which Mr. Hunt does not even mention, though surely Mr. Carlyle had a meaning, and did not speak mere rhetoric, when he said that the "Pilgrim's Progress" was still our best compendium of [Calvinistic] theology. But in a general sense this radical defect, as we hold it, in the plan of Mr. Hunt's work, has been perceived by himself, else why should he express, as he has done in the appendix to this volume, his regret for such exclusions. He says:—"It is a matter of regret that the plan of this work necessarily gives greater prominence to 'controversial and even heretical writings than to the works of men whose lives were spent in the furtherance of practical religion. I have felt this in many cases, but in none more than in Chapter X., which is devoted to 'the religious literature of the Nonconformists.' The controversial writings of Bunyan 'have occupied some pages; but there was no occasion to mention those to which he owes 'his immortality.'"

Mr. Hunt in his preface to this second volume implicitly claims to have wholly reserved his own opinions. He writes:—

"It was stated in the preface to the first volume that the object of this work was to trace the history of religious thought in England since the Reformation. I then intimated that I was not writing a philosophy of the history of religion, but a part of the history itself. Merely to have given my own conclusions, or my own theories, would have been easier for me, and perhaps more agreeable to the reader. But I preferred collecting and arranging material, which would not only illustrate the standpoint from which I was writing, but also have a permanent value in itself. . . . The present volume completes the seventeenth century, with the addition of the chief part of the Deist controversy. I have kept strictly to the plan of merely recording what men said. The significance of these controversies and their value to the philosophy of history may appear more clearly in the last volume. It is better that the reader should be left for the present to his own conclusions, and not be distracted by anything which I have to say. The mere history will itself refute many arguments which are vehemently urged in party controversies."

But in spite of this protest we are sometimes distracted by what Mr. Hunt has got to say. If he dislikes the Calvinists, it is as evident that he likes the Deists. They doubtless deserve the love and esteem of posterity, as men who did a great liberalising work in dark times, and who in the doing of it were only misunderstood and decried. Mr. Hunt loves to linger over their works, and gives what we regard as disproportionate space to them. Pope's "Essay on Man" has several pages devoted to it, because it embodies some of Lord Shaftesbury's views; but surely this is gratuitous after having ignored Bunyan's "Pilgrim," and his practical treatises! In the former volume Hobbes and Lord Herbert had nearly a third of the whole; in this one Toland and Tindal, and the rest hold about the same proportion. Mr. Hunt's graphic presentation of their doctrines does not quite relieve us from some sense of one-sided preference.

But we must not end by fault-finding. Nothing could be more excellent than Mr. Hunt's sketches of Penn and the Quakers, of the Non-jurors, notably of Bishop Ken, and of such men as Leighton and Baxter, with whom Mr. Hunt really can sympathise. In spite of the criticisms we have ventured to make, we regard the book as a real addition to our theological literature, and one which will be found the more valuable the more that it is studied.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS COOPER.*

Mr. Thomas Cooper has, in this thoroughly charming autobiography, written a book which the learned and the unlearned will read with equal delight. Nothing of its kind so fresh, so genuine, so frank, has appeared for many a year. It is as full of interest as a romance, as full of information as a history, and as instructive as philosophy itself. The tale which Mr. Cooper has to tell, is in some respects a tragical one, as is every tale of a human life, but the character of the author, and the manner in which his fortunes are unfolded, invest it with singular beauty. For once, we should say, a man is to be congratulated in having told his own life-story. No one could have written Mr. Cooper's life so well as he has written it himself.

Now, we intend, having said this, to do little more than give the reader some idea of what he will find in this book. We don't like making personal remarks upon living individuals, although a precedent for this is to be found in Mr. Cooper himself; but, sometimes, a precedent neither to be admired nor followed, as in his remarks upon Mr. Henry Vincent, Mr. John Forster and others. This is one of the dangers attending autobiographies, and scarcely any autobiographer has escaped it. It is an undoubted pleasure, of a certain kind, to snub the person who has snubbed you, but it is a pleasure which, in a man of good moral digestion, leaves a bad taste in the mouth. However, Mr. Cooper is far more copious of gratitude and praise than of hate and blame. He has apparently, all his life, been apt to speak as he has felt and thought, without always stopping to consider whether the feeling and the thought have been exactly just. But, if he had not done so, he could not have had this every way unique and remarkable "Life."

Mr. Cooper was born at Leicester in the year 1805, but his father and mother soon afterwards took him to Exeter. His father was a dyer, and died at Exeter when his son was only four years old. His mother then moved to Gainsborough, where she took up her husband's trade, and managed just to keep a roof over her head. Very graphic and often very touching are the incidents of his early life which Mr. Cooper gives, and especially of his self-education. We follow his narrative almost with our bodily eye, seeming to see exactly what he was, and to be with him in all the early years of his poverty and endurance. As he grew up he began to be a devourer of books, a miraculous and almost unprecedented devourer. He learnt to be a cobbler—scarcely to be a shoemaker—and could earn, until he was past twenty, only ten shillings a week. But he was up in early morning studying history, philosophy, and languages with a resolution and endurance which gave early enough signs of future strength of character. Here is a bit of this life:—

"I thought it possible that by the time I reached the age of twenty-four I might be able to master the elements of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French; might get well through Euclid, and through a course of Algebra; might commit the entire 'Paradise Lost,' and seven of the best plays of Shakespeare, to memory; and might read a large and solid course of history, and of religious evidences; and be well acquainted also with the current literature of the day."

"I failed considerably, but I sped on joyfully while health and strength lasted. I was between nineteen and twenty when I began to commit Ruddiman's Rudiments to memory—thinking it was better to begin to learn Latin with the book that Lee used—though I found afterwards I might have done better. I committed almost the entire volume to memory—notes and all. Afterwards I found Israel Lyon's small Hebrew grammar, on a stall, bought it for a shilling, and practised Hebrew writing as the surest means of beginning to learn, every Sunday evening. I got hold of a Greek grammar about a year after; but did not master it earnestly, because I thought it better to keep close to the Latin for some time. I also picked up a small French grammar; but that seemed so easy, that I thought I could master it without care or trouble."

"On Sunday mornings, whether I walked, or had to stay indoors on account of the weather, my first task was to commit a portion of the 'Paradise Lost' to memory. I usually spent the remainder of Sunday, save the evening, whether I walked or remained at home, in reading something that bore on the evidences. Thus I not only read through the well-known 'Natural Theology' and 'Horæ Paulinæ,' and 'Evidences' of Paley, and the equally popular 'Apologies for the Bible and Christianity' of Bishop Watson, Soame Jenyns' 'Internal Evidences,' Lord Lyttelton's 'Conversion of St. Paul,' and Sherlock's 'Trial of the Witnesses'—but I diligently read books that required deeper thinking, and some that were filled with profound learning—such as Butler's 'Analogy,' Bentley's 'Folly of Atheism,' Dr. Samuel Clark's 'Demonstrations of the Being and Attributes of God,' Stillingfleet's 'Origines Sacre,' and Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses.'"

"Historical reading, or the grammar of some language or translation, was my first employment on week-day mornings, whether I rose at three or four, until seven o'clock, when I sat down to the stall."

"A book or a periodical in my hand while I breakfasted gave me another half-hour's reading. I had another

* *The Life of Thomas Cooper.* Written by HIMSELF. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

half-hour, and sometimes an hour's reading, or study of language, at from one to two o'clock, the time of dinner—usually eating my food with a spoon, after I had cut it in pieces, and having my eyes on a book all the time.

"I sat at work till eight, and sometimes nine, at night; and, then, either read, or walked about our little room and committed 'Hamlet' to memory, or the rhymes of some modern poet, until compelled to go to bed from sheer exhaustion—for it must be remembered that I was repeating something, audibly, as I sat at work, the greater part of the day—either declensions and conjugations, or rules of syntax, or propositions of Euclid, or the 'Paradise Lost,' or 'Hamlet,' or poetry of some modern or living author."

During his Gainsborough life, which lasted until he was twenty-four years of age, when he turned schoolmaster, Mr. Cooper came under religious impressions from the Methodists, but was the subject of a good deal of personal tyranny, which, being renewed at Lincoln, forced him to leave the body. We find him at Lincoln, schoolmaster again and married, and also reporter to the *Stamford Mercury*. Next he moves to Stamford to take a higher post on the paper, but does not agree with the proprietor and throws the engagement up. Then we follow him to London, where considerable privation met him. At last he became connected with the *Kentish Mercury*, but not agreeing with the proprietor, gave notice to leave that post as well. Then came his summons to Leicester.

At Leicester, it may be said, Mr. Cooper's life-work began, or rather his work as a public man began. We have, in the chapters of this portion of the autobiography, some exciting sketches of the Chartist movement, which Mr. Cooper soon joined, and some local details, which will be peculiarly interesting to the Leicester people, many of whom, no doubt, retain as vivid a recollection of those early and troubled days as Mr. Cooper, and perhaps might be able to correct the author in some details. Here is a part of Mr. Cooper's tale:—

"As I considered the Chartist side to be the side of the poor and suffering, I held up my hand for the Charter at public meetings. Of course I might have taken neither side—the custom which is most usual with reporters; but I was made of mettle that must take a side, and I could only take the side I did take.

"I soon learned that this was an offence in their eyes who supported the *Leicestershire Mercury*; and I speedily added to the offence. The Chartists had started a penny weekly paper to which they gave the high-sounding title of the *Midland Counties Illuminator*. It was mean in appearance, and the fine, intellectual old man, George Bown, who edited the paper, lacked assistance. I wrote him a few articles under promise of secrecy; but soon found that everybody knew what I did. I was therefore not surprised when the manager of the *Leicestershire Mercury* told me that I must seek a new situation, for that the paper had no sale sufficient to enable the proprietors to pay my salary.

"Never mind, Tom," said my old friend Winks, when I told him that I had received notice to leave the *Mercury* in a month's time; "don't you leave Leicester. There will be something for you to do soon."

"Don't leave Leicester!" said a group of Chartists, whom I met in the street, and who had heard of my dismissal; "stay and conduct our paper; George Bown wants to give it up."

"And in a day or two a deputation from the Chartist committee came to offer me thirty shillings a week if I would stay in Leicester and conduct their little paper. My friend Winks shook his head at it.

"Have nothing to do with them, Tom," said he; "you cannot depend on 'em. You'll not get the thirty shillings a week they have promised you."

"I don't expect it," I replied; "but I think I can make the paper into something better, if they will give it into my hands; and I think I can do some good among these poor men if I join them."

"My friend argued against me strongly, and at last angrily, declaring that I should ruin myself. But my resolution was taken. I felt I could not leave these suffering stockingers. During the earlier weeks after I entered Leicester I had so little to fill my mind, or even to occupy my time, that I purposed returning in right earnest to my studies so soon as I could repossess myself of the requisite books. But the more I learned of the state of the poor, the less inclined I felt to settle down to study. The accounts of wretchedness and of petty oppressions, and the fierce defiance of their employers uttered by working men at public meetings kept me in perpetual uneasiness, and set me thinking what I ought to do. The issue was that I resolved to become the champion of the poor. What is the acquirement of languages—what is the obtaining of all knowledge," I said to myself, "compared to the real honour, whatever seeming disgrace it may bring, of struggling to win the social and political rights of millions?"

We follow Mr. Cooper in the Chartist movement to Nottingham, through his connection with Feargus O'Connor, then to Hanley, and from thence to gaol at Stafford, where he was tried for arson, but acquitted. In the interval between the first and second trial came the Complete Suffrage Conference at Birmingham, the history of which Mr. Cooper gives from the Chartist point of view. He says:—

"Leicester was privileged to return four delegates. The Complete Suffrage party wished two of the delegates to be chosen in a meeting composed of Parliamentary electors only; and to leave the unrepresented to elect the two other delegates. But this did not meet the views either of Chartists or of working men generally. They forced their way into the meeting called by the respectables; and the respectables disappeared. It was of their own respectable good pleasure that they with-

drew. If they had remained, working men would have voted for the Rev. J. P. Mursell and Mr. William Baines, to be delegates with Duffy and myself. But respectables held our characters to be defective, and they would not act with us. So we acted by ourselves. I and Duffy and two other Chartists were voted delegates for Leicester, and we went to Birmingham: no respectables went.

"Our Chartist delegates were the most numerous party in the Birmingham Conference; but my expectation rose when I saw so many persons present belonging to the middle class. I thought that if such persons would assemble with us to confer about presenting a petition to Parliament for making a law whereby all mature men should have the franchise, it showed we were really advancing. If the strike for the Charter had ended almost as soon as it began, and had ended disastrously—if neither we nor the Anti-Corn-Law League had succeeded in paralysing the Government—it looked as if there were a party in the country who were determined yet to let the Government understand that there was real cause for discontent, and it was time the wrong should be righted.

"The truly illustrious Joseph Sturge was elected chairman of the conference by acclamation—for not a single working-man delegate in the meeting wished for any other chairman. And now, if Mr. Sturge himself, or Edward Miall, or the Rev. Thomas Spencer, or the Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley, or Mr. Lawrence Heyworth of Liverpool, or any other leading member of the Complete Suffrage party present, had risen in that assembly, and spoken words of real kindness and hearty conciliation, I am persuaded that not even O'Connor himself, if he had desired it, could have prevented the great body of working-men delegates from uttering shouts of joy.

"But there was no attempt to bring about a union—no effort for conciliation—no generous offer of the right hand of friendship. We soon found that it was determined to keep poor Chartists 'at arm's length.' We were not to come between the wind and their nobility. Thomas Boggs, of Nottingham, a mere secondary member of the Complete Suffrage party, was put up to propose their first resolution, to the effect—That the 'People's Bill of Rights' form the basis from which the petition should be drawn that this conference would present to Parliament."

After this came the second trial at Stafford, then the trial in the Court of Queen's Bench, and—committal to prison for two years. His trial, and prison life are sketched with remarkable power. Released, Mr. Cooper came to London, and tried to get the "Purgatory of Suicides," which he had written in prison, published. Here is a description of his first attempt:—

"I was so ill during the first week after my release that I could not quit my lodging. The kind friend who had sent me pecuniary relief before I quitted prison still supplied my wants. As soon as I had strength for it I called on Mr. Duncombe, who was then lodging in the Albany, Piccadilly. He received me with extreme kindness; and asked what I purposed doing. I told him I had written a poem and other things in prison, and wished he could introduce me to a publisher.

"A publisher!" said he, "why, you know, Cooper, I never published anything in my life. I know nothing of publishers. Oh, stop!" said he, suddenly, "wait a few minutes. I'll write a note and send you to Disraeli."

"He wrote the note, and read it to me. As nearly as I can remember it ran thus:—

"My Dear Disraeli,—I send you Mr. Cooper, a Chartist, red-hot from Stafford Gaol. But don't be frightened. He won't bite you. He has written a poem and a romance; and thinks he can cut out 'Coburnsby,' and 'Sybil'! Help him if you can, and oblige yours, T. S. DUNCOMBE."

"But you would not have me take a note like that?" I said.

"Would not I?" he answered; "but I would. It's just the thing for you; get off with you and present it at once. You'll catch him at home just now. Grosvenor Gate—close to the park—anybody will tell you the house—now, away with you at once!"

"It was Sunday afternoon, and away I went to Grosvenor Gate. A tall Hebrew in livery came to the door, with a silver waiter in his hand.

"This is Mr. Disraeli's, I believe?" I said.

"Yes; but Mr. Disraeli is not at home," was the answer, in ceremonious style.

"Then when will he be at home?" I asked, "as I wish to present this note of introduction to him from Mr. Duncombe."

"Mr. Duncombe, the member of Parliament?" asked the man in livery. And when I answered "Yes," he presented the waiter, and said, "You had better give me the note: Mrs. Disraeli is at home."

"I gave him the note; and he closed the door, I waiting in the hall. He soon returned, saying, 'Mr. Disraeli will see you. You understand it was my business to say, 'Not at home.' You will excuse me!'

"Why don't you bring the gentleman up?" cried a light silvery voice from above.

"The servant led me up the staircase; and, at the top, Mrs. Disraeli very gracefully bowed, and withdrew; and the servant took me into what was evidently the literary man's 'study'—a small room at the top of the house.

"One sees paragraphs very often, now, in the papers about the expressionless and jaded look of the Conservative leader's face as he sits in the House of Commons. Yet, as I first looked upon that face twenty-six years ago, I thought it one of great intellectual beauty. The eyes seemed living lights; and the intelligent yet kindly way in which Mr. Disraeli inquired about the term of my imprisonment, and treatment in the prison, convinced me that I was in the presence of a very shrewd as well as highly cultivated and refined man.

"I wish I had seen you before I finished my last novel," said he; "my heroine, Sybil, is a Chartist."

"I gave into his hands the MSS. of the first book of my 'Purgatory of Suicides.'"

"I shall be happy to read it," he said; "but what do you wish me to do?"

"To write to Mr. Moxon," said I, "and recommend him to publish it—if you think it right to do so when you have looked it over."

How Mr. Cooper eventually got his book published, became literary man, preacher, lecturer, we must leave the reader to find from his own words. There were years, as we all know, when he lapsed into scepticism, but never, as people have imagined, into infidelity. But he came round, and all that he has since done none of our readers need to be told.

This book will do men good to read. It has its warnings, but the life is a brave life to have lived, and notwithstanding great and open faults in it, we put the record down with nothing but affection and reverence for the author.

AN AMERICAN NOVEL.

As an undoubtedly genuine representation of some phases of American society, this story will find willing readers in this country, who will not fail to remark that this writer, in common with so many American novelists, is too just to gloss over the peculiar vices of American society. Five or six of the principal characters in the book are the very incarnation of covetousness and polished villany; while, on the other hand, the Christian virtues are illustrated by the few who, by patient continuance in well doing, establish the genuineness and worth of their creed. Jerry, the Yankee ostler, whose principal characteristics as he is first introduced to us are a love of strong drink, and a superstitious fear of Mrs. Sherwood, whom he believed to be a witch, is converted by the magic of kindness into a simple-hearted, fearless Christian, and a total abstainer. "The people with whom he lived variously designated Jerry. Some called him 'under-witted,' others 'half-baked,' some said he was 'below par,' and others said, 'Jerry knows enough, only he is bewitched.' Whatever may be the precise meaning of that expression, it is evident that Jerry was puzzled by contraries and apparent inconsistencies which have proved too much for far wiser heads than his, and he had not the proper amount of reverence and diffidence to temper his rash judgments. "Well, I don't understand it," he muttered. "I don't much like this world, anyhow! There's small comfort with a weak back, onstiddy limbs, a poor muddled head, and a wicked heart. I wonder if God made me. I'm sure I would not make such a back. Nobody seems to me to be made worth while, but Miss Minnie; and she's so happy. I'll warrant somethin' will turn up, jest as it did with Bess Bite's eyes." However, with a better fortune, and the sympathy and counsel of Miss Minnie Brandon, his master's daughter, Jerry began to see things with clearer eyes, and found out how to keep "stiddy" on his limbs and to hold his back up. More than this, he became an excellent nurse and an indispensable servant; moreover, he never tired of saying how happy he was since he became a "believer," and, unlike many of his class who experience conversion, he was full of the liveliest hopes for the vilest of his companions, even to a most unorthodox degree. But he was not careful to reason on the matter, except from the rude analogies suggested by his ordinary observation of men and horses. Thus, speaking of two horses which he had driven for years, and which became his own property at last, he said, "I don't know which one is the lovinest, but Vix is the wickedest, and so I like her the best. I wish the good God could only do so with His wicked children, and I suppose He does, but we can't be happy while we are bad—its agin natur." So Jerry asked his good angel Minnie Brandon to offer up prayers on behalf of Squire Rawson, who had just gone to his account, and when she expressed a fear such prayers were of little use, Jerry was ready with his truly philosophic answer, "Never you mind; the love that makes your prayers won't be lost, and if you get discouraged, jest you think what a drunken scarecrow Jerry used to be. If the good God could put sense and goodness and faith into Jerry, He can do it for other hard cases. I shan't give up prayin' and I'm thankful I'm a believer."

We have purposely given no outline or hint of the story, which is interesting and natural. Jerry being a rare specimen, we have given somewhat undue prominence to him. The fortunes of George Graham and Minnie Brandon, and the scheming policy of Mrs. Mayo, form the principal features of interest in the story. There is a good deal of lively talk and incident, which well sustain the reader's interest, but the characters want more individuality. Especially is this the case with Mr. Brandon, who as a poet of some celebrity might be expected to say something noteworthy once in a way, or to behave in an eccentric manner. But it would be hard to conceive a duller per-

Jerry: a Novel of Yankee American Life. By MARY S. CORE NICHOLS. (Sampson Low and Co.)

sonage than this of the author's creation. George Graham is a young man of fine sympathies, who regards the inheritance of wealth and position as a misfortune, if he can enjoy them only on condition of entering the large mercantile establishment of Graham, Mayo, and Co., wishing to devote himself to educational work. From this he is dissuaded for reasons which need not be here stated, and he faithfully discharges all the responsibilities arising out of his position as the only son of the senior partner in the aforesaid firm, finding himself able in a few years, under the most happy circumstances, to carry out his long-cherished plans for the training of youth. This gives satisfaction to the reader no less than to George Graham, for his purpose is so noble, and his endeavours to accomplish it have been so thwarted, that one feels actual pleasure in knowing that all obstacles are overcome before the end comes, and that such an enlightened young man, though only an ideal one, is free to carry on the enterprise upon which he has embarked. This novel has the rare recommendation of being in one volume.

BRIEF NOTICES.

History of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany, viewed according to its Fundamental Movement and in connection with the Religious, Moral, and Intellectual Life. By Dr. J. A. DORNER, Oberconsistorialrath and Professor of Theology at Berlin. Translated by the Rev. GEORGE ROBSON, M.A., Inverness, and SOPHIA TAYLOR. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) This book has been written by Dr. Dörner as one of twenty-five histories prepared, under the auspices of Maximilian II., King of Bavaria, for the Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich. It would be superfluous to praise Dörner for learning; we are glad that he has taken up such a theme as this. The history of the Church in our own times is as interesting as its history in any time; and as important too in the eyes of all who regard the Church as a living body still having its inspiration and its direction from on high. Protestantism is regarded by Dörner as "a special particular movement within the sphere of universal Christendom." "It desires the whole Christian truth, even although it is as unsuccessful in perfectly appropriating it as any man in the course of history; but what it seeks to maintain as a possession already existing, is a new aspect of this whole Christian truth, a more perfect appropriation of the same." "In thought, will, and feeling—viz., the personal, which it has discerned to be the aim of Christianity in its innermost tendency. Hence, in spite of its particularistic appearance—the conquering of which is not dependent upon itself alone, since it is rather forced upon it from without—it necessarily makes this claim, that the essential of that for which it contends is designed for all, and all for it; for this essential is the common matter of Christianity (which also boasts an outward universality or catholicity), but that common matter in personal application and in a personal direction; and this latter, so far as it has an intrinsic right to, although it does not yet enjoy, a universal recognition in Christendom, possesses at least an intrinsic catholicity." Though Dörner is writing principally the history of German Protestantism, he displays an acquaintance with the present state of theology in England which not many continental writers possess. He contrasts in this respect very favourably with Hugenbach, some of whose errors are ludicrous. We would commend his genial estimate of living English theological scholars to those pert young divines among us who, on the strength of two or three years' residence at a German University, affect to look about in vain for scholars in their own land. Mr. Robson has laboured carefully and thoroughly at his work of translation, aiming to give not merely a translation, but an English edition of the first volume. A little more assumption of independent critical judgment than is warranted may perhaps appear in some of his notes. We wish the second volume had been revised by him; we should then have been spared some bibliographical blunders.

Words of Comfort, by WILLIAM LOGAN (Nisbet), is one of those books that occupy a position from which no competition may hope to move them. This is the seventh British edition, and several editions have been sold in America. The book has gradually grown, edition by edition, till now it contains nearly all that is available for the purpose of comfort for those bereaved of children. We observe several very important additions and alterations have been made here; but we do not understand why Mrs. Browning's "Only a Curl" has been withdrawn; surely it was in every way suitable for its place. This edition is more neatly got up than any of its predecessors. — *Character Sketches*, by NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D. (Strahan), contains that exquisite and touching sketch, "Wee Davie," from which Mr. Logan has been wise enough to extract the touching funeral scene. Dr. Macleod is a master in pathos, as seen in "Wee Davie"; but he is not less so in humour, as most of these sketches testify. He has a fine sympathetic sense, and wonderful powers of character-portraiture, rendering the presence of his personages vivid by a mere word or two spoken by them in the most natural manner

possible. "The Highland Witch" has a deal of weirdness and mystery. "The Old Guard" is capital, and "Job Jacobs and his Boxes" is likely to have more effect than many tracts on economy and self-denial. Most of the sketches have appeared in *Good Words*, but the volume, for all that, has a look of novelty, and will be prized by many. The illustrations are excellent.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English, according to the Authorized Version, Corrected by the Best Critical Editions of the Original. By FREDERICK GARDINER, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, author of "A Harmony of the Gospels in Greek," &c. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) "This Harmony," says the preface, "is a reproduction in English of the author's 'Harmony of the Four Gospels,' in Greek. Being intended for English readers, so much of the introduction and of the notes as require a knowledge of Greek, is omitted. Other notes have been abridged 'in many cases.' The study of 'Gospel Harmony' will, we suppose, be continued with undiminished interest so long as the New Testament is read. Pursued as it now is, with no attempt to force the narratives into identity, and with a candid recognition of discrepancies, it cannot fail to interest and instruct the readers of the Gospels. Dr. Gardiner's volume is intelligent; it is not at all too learned for any reader of the English Bible. It is so printed as that passages can be readily compared; and a 'tabular view of the arrangement adopted by several of the more recent harmonists,' shows where the author agrees with Greswell, Stroud, Robinson, Thomson and Tischendorf, and where he differs from them. An index of passages makes the use of the 'Harmony' easy. To those needing a 'Harmony of the Gospels,' we have pleasure in recommending this.

The Sunday Afternoon. Fifty-two sermons. By J. BALDWIN BROWN, B.A., author of "The Home Life," "First Principles of Ecclesiastical Truth," (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) These sermons are selections from those preached in the ordinary course of Mr. Baldwin Brown's ministry. They are considerably reduced in bulk. Mr. Brown has endeavoured so to compress them that they may not occupy more than ten minutes each in reading. We cannot say that we quite like this reduction; not that "compression" has been studied, as Mr. Brown fears, "at the expense of clearness," for the discourses are clear enough; but that Mr. Brown's style needs room for the unfolding and illustration of his arguments. They are, however, valuable sermons, fervid and pure, like their author. We are sure they will be "useful for family as well as private reading," and also in cases where laymen might wish to conduct "a week-night service for the benefit of those who dwell around." We sincerely hope they may be widely used for these purposes.

Manners of Modern Society, being a Book of Etiquette (Casell), may be found of service to some persons, for there is a certain truth in the maxim that "manners make the man"; but, on the whole, we cannot help thinking that this little volume is too much of a mixture. It goes off every now and then into what is properly domestic economy—giving hints as to how to "set" tables, whilst it is not so definite and circumstantial as might be as to behaviour at table; and telling how to provide for balls, &c., but giving hardly sufficient information how to behave at them. The principle of arrangement, beginning with "Birth" and ending with "Death," is artificial and forced in an extreme degree. The book, however, is well written, and quotations are made freely from some of our best writers. It is very chastely got up, and would form a pretty ornament on a table.

Sermons Preached in Rugby School Chapel in 1862-67. By the Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Exeter. Second Series. (London: Macmillan and Co.) Our readers have already had some of Dr. Temple's Rugby Sermons introduced to their notice. A very beautiful simplicity characterises them. Nonconformists might perhaps think them occasionally cold, and reserved in spiritual utterance and appeal. The spirituality is, however, thorough, though not obtrusive; and a good deal of knowledge of human character and human life is evident. The sermon on "Apathy, one of our Trials" is a specimen of wise and earnest counsel addressed to boys, but applicable to persons of every age. Another discourse full of practical wisdom and of earnest tenderness is the one entitled "God's Love as various as Man's Need."

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded. By Dr. C. W. EDWARD NAEGLERBACH, Pastor in Bayreuth, Bavaria. (The Thirteenth Volume of Lange's Commentary on the Old Testament.) (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) We cannot profess any love for Lange's commentaries. They seem designed to help lazy preachers, whom they supply with hints doctrinal and ethical, pithy sayings, and anecdotes. Already too many helps exist for such preachers in the English language without introducing more from the German. More of criticism and exegesis, and less of padding would suit our taste better. The student of Lange's commentaries can hardly be said to be a student of the Bible. This volume is not quite such an offender as others of the series; but it is not scholarly.

The Elegies of Albius Tibullus Translated into English Verse, by JAMES CRANSTOUN, B.A. (Blackwood), is a book to interest scholars. Mr. Cranstoun has already given specimens of careful and musical translation in

his version of Catullus, and has made good his footing among scholars. Tibullus has his own peculiarities; but does not present greater difficulty than Catullus with his airy delicacy. Mr. Cranstoun has done the work well, several of the poems maintaining the crisp clearness and yet limpid flow of the original. Specially is this true of "Love Slighted for Gold," and "Sulpicia to Messala"—on the whole, a testing piece for the translator.

In Truth and Life: or, Short Sermons for the Day (Hatchards), Professor Stanley Leathes gives a series of popular practical discourses, full of thought and purpose, and yet presenting the result of a good deal of research and scholarship. The little Scripture portraits are very good, especially that of Saul. The discourse on miracles is also well worthy of notice, for the decisive manner in which the supernatural is defended and reclaimed. The two discourses which have most disappointed us are the two last, "The Unity of the Church," and "The Church of the Future," in which Professor Leathes is at once very narrow and very general.

Redlands: or, Home Temper, by HARRIETTE BROWN (Hodder and Stoughton), is a good story. It is too expanded, however, for the depth of human interest which the authoress has succeeded in commanding, and the lesson too consciously obtrudes itself, giving a feeling of unnaturalness now and then. However, it is not wanting in points that give promise in peculiar powers of character-sketching, as seen in Lottie, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Vernon. We think it likely that in some respects the author would succeed with short stories; the writing of these, at all events, would be a favourable exercise. We have read the book with pleasure.

A Memoir of John Elder, Engineer and Shipbuilder, by W. J. MACQUORN RANKINE (Blackwood) introduces us to a man of strong practical character, yet reverent and devout as but few such men are. He was the first to practically apply the compound expansive engine to the propulsion of ships. He was faithful in all the relations of life, and his many friends testify to his loveableness—Dr. Norman Macleod writing a letter full of tender sorrow for a lost friend.

The Garden Oracle and Horticultural Year-Book, 1872, by SHIRLEY HIBBERD, contains a large mass of matter very carefully arranged, and suited to be most useful to those for whom it is intended. All improvements are recorded, and every description of practical gardening taken under consideration, besides account of all new plants, flowers, and fruits, and of all new garden implements. This is the fourteenth publication of this valuable garden annual.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

OVERLOOKED.—The Procureur of the French Republic, having been lately informed that a dozen children, arrested by the Commune, were still confined at La Roquette, repaired to the spot and had them set at liberty. They were utterly ignorant of why they had been put in prison. Such of them as have parents still living were restored to their families, and the others sent to orphan asylums:—*Galignani*.

A FRENCH SKETCH OF THE LATE LORD LONSDALE.—The *Paris Journal* tells us that it has received a despatch from London announcing the death of Lord Lonsdale, the inventor of postage-stamps. "His lordship," says this paper, "was the owner of several quarters of London, and his fortune amounted to 7,000,000*l.* a year. He had a peculiar liking for dogs. In his magnificent palace of Richmond, where he received the greatest people in England, the politicians of all Europe, and the actresses in vogue, he generally arrived preceded by a large number of dogs and armed with a large bag filled with bones, which he would toss to his canine friends. The sight of these animals fighting for the bones, reckless of sumptuous furniture, much amused his lordship. No enterprise was ever started touching the honour of England to which the earl did not subscribe a million."

THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.—A telegram from the Paris correspondent of the *Standard* represents the President as being in excellent spirits. At his recent reception he said he would not resort to a *plébiscite*, but that he was not afraid of a direct appeal to the people. The Bonapartists he was not afraid of: he was sure that they could not muster a million and a half of votes. The revolutionists were actually cowed. The country was prosperous and happy, and only too glad of the continuance of the present régime. The relations with Prussia and Italy were most satisfactory; if he were only let alone, all would be well. Some one having asked a question about the army, M. Thiers declared that its conditions and feelings were all that could be desired. "The army," he said, "is not Bonapartist. I, who live in the midst of camps, know exactly what the soldier feels."

LUTHER MEMORIALS.—An interesting historical relic, or rather a whole collection of relics, which it is impossible to replace, a few days ago became a prey to the flames in the ancient city of Erfurt. There stands the Augustine monastery in which Martin Luther lived and conceived his first ideas of a Reformation, converted at present into an orphan asylum. A fire suddenly broke out a few days ago, and has totally destroyed the most interesting part of the building, in which was Luther's cell, and also the room where he first gave shape to his great scheme. In these rooms, which have been

up to the latest time shown to strangers as curiosities. Luther's Bible was kept with marginal notes in the reformer's own handwriting, together with the painting, "Death's Dance," by Beck, and other valuable relics. All of these have been burnt. The pecuniary damage is estimated at about 60,000 thalers; the historical loss is incalculable.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE CAPTIVE SCOTCH GIRL AMONG THE LOOSHAI.—It is stated in the Indian papers just received that the little European girl, Mary Winchester, who has been in captivity among the Looshais since their raid into Assam last year and the murder of her father, the late Mr. Winchester, of Elgin, when delivered over to the expeditionary force by the Howlongs, only understood the Kookie language, and cried bitterly on being taken away from the savages, a lament which they reciprocated in their own barbarous fashion. She had been treated well while with the Howlongs, with whom she had become a favourite. In all their marchings and shiftings from place to place the child had been carried on the shoulders of one or other of the band. The *Bengal Times* says—"She appears to be a smart and intelligent child of about seven years of age, and her features are only slightly bronzed by her long stay in the hills. She will be sent to Calcutta by the first opportunity."

CONTINENTAL ARMAMENTS.—All the principal countries of Europe, except Austria (says a German paper), are now reorganising their armies. Germany is about to increase her military force by 400,000 men, and Russia, whose army (including irregulars) has hitherto numbered 1,309,002 men in a war footing, expects under the new system to have a force of 2,992,809 men at her disposal, not reckoning the local troops and the militia. The new military organisation of France is not yet decided upon, but it is believed that its result will be to increase her army to about 1,400,000 men. Italy, whose war establishment hitherto amounted to 519,630 men, including reserves, proposes by the plan of reorganisation which has been adopted by her Government to raise a force of from 750,000 to 800,000 men. The Turkish army, when on a war footing, has hitherto consisted of 270,000 men, inclusive of the nizams or militia; it is to be increased to 600,000 men. Finally, the military force of England at home is to be raised under Mr. Cardwell's scheme to about 300,000 men. When all these plans are carried out, the total war establishment of the armies of Europe will be increased from 6,166,000 men to about 10,000,000.

MAZZINI AND CAVOUR.—An interesting anecdote about Mazzini appears in a new book just published in Paris under the title of "Le Dernier des Napoléons." Sir James Hudson, then British Ambassador at Turin, once requested Cavour to give an audience to an English traveller who had just arrived. The Minister received his visitor very early in the morning, as was his custom. After the usual courtesies had been exchanged, the "Englishman" described to Cavour a deep-laid plan which he had conceived for the restoration of Italian independence. Cavour was astonished at the boldness and thoughtful foresight shown by his interlocutor, and expressed his regret at not being sufficiently acquainted with the English language to enter fully into all details of the scheme. The stranger then went over the whole plan in the purest and most elegant Italian. As he was taking his leave Cavour said to him—"You talk politics like Machiavel, and Italian like Manzoni. If I had a countryman like yourself, I would gladly give up to him my place as President of the Ministry. Pray tell me what I can do for you." "If such a man as I were your countryman," was the reply, "you would sentence him to death. If you wish to show your appreciation of my advice, carry it out, and liberate Italy. So far, at least, the protection of Sir James Hudson will suffice for me." The stranger then left the room, first handing his card to Cavour, who read on it with amazement the name of Mazzini.

Miscellaneous.

DOMESTIC TRAINING FOR WOMEN.—An excellent institution for the training of domestic servants has for some little time been at work in Gloucester, under the patronage of the Countess Ducie, Lady Emily Kingscote, Lady Goldsmid, Lady Guise, Mrs. Bathurst, Mrs. Ricardo. On the 12th, the committee requested Miss Faithfull to lecture in the Corn Exchange in aid of its funds. She will visit York and Edinburgh during April.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.—A bill to amend the law relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors, bearing the names of Sir Robert Anstruther, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. T. Hughes, and Mr. Morrison, has been printed. It contains 135 clauses, and provides for the constitution of licensing boards, to be elected by the owners of property and ratepayers. The Act does not extend to Scotland or Ireland. A bill brought in by Mr. Birley has also been printed, which proposes to extend to the whole of Sunday the present restrictions on the sale of beer and other fermented or distilled liquors.

THE TICHBORNE CASE.—The question of bail for the claimant in the Tichborne case has been adjourned till to-day. In the course of a conversation which took place at Judges' Chambers on Monday, the Solicitor to the Treasury said it had not yet been determined whether the case should be removed to the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr. Justice Willes said he should require to be satisfied with the bail as a merchant would be respecting the status of the men whose bill he was about to

receive. It is stated that Serjeant Parry has been retained for the prosecution of the Tichborne claimant, and that the law officers of the Crown will take no part in the proceedings. The Attorney-General's fees in the Tichborne case amounted to 6,000*l.*, and those of Mr. Hawkins to rather more than 5,000*l.*

THE ELECTORAL ROLL.—A return just published, obtained on the motion of Sir Charles Dilke, shows that the total number of electors on the Parliamentary register in cities and boroughs in England and Wales is 1,250,019; in Scotland, 171,912; in Ireland, 49,025; total, 1,470,956. The total number of municipal electors in England and Wales is 925,032; in Scotland, 161,462; and in Ireland, 14,671; total, 1,101,165. The total number of county voters in England and Wales is 810,109; in Scotland, 78,919; in Ireland, 175,439; total, 1,055,467.

THE NEW INDIAN VICEROY.—There was a thoroughly representative gathering at the *déjeuner* given by the Mayor of Portsmouth to Lord Northbrook on Monday. His lordship, in response to the toast of his health, spoke of the difficulty of legislating for a country like India, with its masses of people of different religions and various customs; and dwelt upon the necessity of caution in dealing with the interests, the wishes, and the prejudices of the numerous races owning Her Majesty's sway. Amongst the other speakers were Lord Templeton, Sir Rodney Mundy, Mr. Cowper-Temple, M.P., Mr. Stone, M.P., and Mr. Bonham-Carter, M.P.

THE SURREY GARDENS LICENCE.—On behalf of Mr. Frederick Strange, an application was on Monday made to the magistrates at Newington, for a spirit licence for the Surrey Gardens, which for the past ten years have been occupied by the temporary St. Thomas's Hospital. Mr. Strange now proposes to establish theatrical and musical entertainments, botanical gardens, and a public menagerie. While there are to be pyrotechnic displays, there will be a total absence of bombardment, and the place is to be closed throughout Sundays, and at eleven o'clock every night. The licence is strongly opposed by many inhabitants of the locality, the clergy of the rural deanery of Newington, and the ministers and members of Nonconformist churches in the neighbourhood. The magistrates reserved judgment.

BANKRUPTCY OF A "CLERICAL BUILDER."—In the London Court of Bankruptcy, on Tuesday, the case of the Rev. Henry Marchmont came on for hearing. This was an adjourned sitting for public examination. The bankrupt, a clerk in holy orders, was described as of 29, Colville-square, Notting Hill, builder. It appeared that he had engaged in extensive building speculations in the neighbourhood of Kensington Park, besides officiating as a clergyman. Mr. R. Griffiths, as representing the trustee, said it was requisite that the mortgagees of the houses built by the bankrupt and also the bankrupt himself should be examined. He was still too unwell to attend, and an adjournment of three months was requested with a view to the completion of the necessary inquiries in the meantime. His honour adjourned the sitting until the 12th of June.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY AND THE QUEEN.—The committee of the Religious Tract Society have addressed the Queen on the recovery of the Prince of Wales. They say:—

They mingled their prayers with those of the whole empire for the restoration to health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and now they unite their thanksgiving to the Hearer of Prayer, with those of your Majesty, your royal house, and of all your subjects, that He has graciously answered the nation's cry, and given back the son to the mother, and the prince to the people. In thus offering the expression of their gratitude at this auspicious event, they venture to ask your Majesty's gracious acceptance of a copy of the Holy Scriptures which they have just published, containing the authorised version, with emendations generally accepted by competent scholars, both European and British, assured that they can offer to your Majesty no gift that will be more highly prized than the Book which tells us of the power of prayer to bring down individual and national blessings both upon princes and peoples. And to this sacred volume they beg to add a "Life of Tyndale," one of the most eminent of the translators of the Bible into the English tongue. In venturing to present these gifts, the committee pray that your Majesty may be long spared to reign over a people whose "peace shall be as a river; and their righteousness as the waves of the sea."

The following is the royal reply [addressed to Dr. Davis, the secretary:—

Windsor Castle, February 24, 1872.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Queen to acknowledge your loyal and feeling address, signed on behalf of the Religious Tract Society, on the recovery of the Prince of Wales, and to express Her Majesty's thanks to you and to the members for the language in which they notify their loyal feelings to her, and their gratitude for the great mercy which has been shown to her and to the nation.

The Queen also commands me to signify her willing acceptance of the Holy Scriptures, and the "Life of Tyndale" which the society offers to her.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. M. BIDDULPH.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.—Letters received from Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, who is in charge of the Survey during the absence of Captain Stewart, report a highly satisfactory progress. During the month of January, the base line having been previously measured, the triangulation was carried over nearly a hundred square miles, of which eighty have been filled in and laid down on the large sheets. The triangulation included Jaffa, and the astronomical observations taken at Ramleh agreed with those

of the Admiralty Survey at Jaffa. It is found to require great caution and management to get at the exact names of places, many of which Mr. Drake discovers to have been laid down wrongly in Van de Velde, owing to the jealousy and suspicion of the *fellahs*, who think that the Survey is a preliminary to the reconquest of the country. Mr. Drake in identifying the sites of the more obscure towns round Ramleh, agrees with Van de Velde as to the positions of Hadid, Jehud, and Bene Berak, but fixes his Gezer at Tell Jezer, instead of Yafir, Van de Velde's assigned place for it. Rock-hewn tombs are found in various places. At Dayr Tarif they are of a pattern (an oblong opening, covered with a slab sunk in the flat surface of the rock) only hitherto discovered in Jebel el Zowi (North Syria, between Hamah and Aleppo). Excavated cisterns, shaped like beehives or inverted funnels, are very common. Subterranean store-chambers are also found, and are still used by the natives. The cisterns and graves at Dayr Tarif have the same name (*nawamis*) as that given by the Bedouin in Sinai to the primeval cairns and tombs found there. A curious geological point has also been observed. Between Abu Shushah and Sydnun, Mr. Drake has found an outbreak of basalt, very friable from exposure. Mr. Drake speaks in terms of the highest praise of the ability and intelligence of the two non-commissioned officers, Sergeant Black and Corporal Armstrong, of the Royal Engineers, who are with him.

Cleanings.

It has been calculated that there die each day upon this earth 91,824 human beings, which gives 3,826 hour by hour, and 64 every minute.

Loving wife, at Brighton: "The horrid surf makes me keep my mouth shut." Sarcastic husband: "Take some of it home with you."

There is a whole sermon in the saying of the Persian—"In all quarrels, leave open the door of reconciliation." We should never forget it.

Franklin once said to a servant who was always late, but always ready with an excuse: "I have generally found that the man who is good at an excuse is good for nothing else."

Thirteen persons were condemned to death last year, of whom only four were executed, one being respited, and the others were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

A lawyer once wrote the word "Rascal" in the hat of a brother lawyer. The latter, on discovering it, entered a complaint in open court against the offender, who, he said, had not only taken his hat, but had written his own name in it!

"George," asked a teacher of a Sunday-school class, "who, above all others, shall you wish first to see when you get to heaven?" With a face brightening up with anticipation, the little fellow shouted, "Gerliah."

THE JUDGE AND THE CARPENTER.—During the progress of the assize business in Dorchester on Monday, Mr. Baron Bramwell was frequently interrupted by the noise of the chisel and hammer. The learned judge despatched a messenger to request that the work should be put off, but he had again and again to inquire, "Who's that knocking?"—which was loud and incessant. The answer to the third inquiry was that the industrious carpenter did not see the force of obeying the judge, and had put the query, "Who's to pay me, I should like to know, my day's wages?" The learned baron, vexed apparently at the man's persistent knocking, but amused at his impudence, said, "Go and tell him to come and show cause why he shall not be fined 50*l.* for contempt of court!" Away went the messenger, and no longer were law and justice impeded, or the dignity of "my lord judge" slighted by "that knocking" within the precincts of the court.

THE AMERICAN DROMIO.—A letter from Dorchester, Mass., to the Boston (U.S.) *Advertiser*, tells the following:—"There are in this town two twin brothers, whose resemblance to each other is so strong that strangers can hardly tell them apart. They keep a grocery and provision 'store,' and were one day bringing in bags of meal from a wagon, which was out of sight from inside the store. Nathan had his coat on, but Eli was in his shirt-sleeves. A stranger in the shop watched them coming in and going out one after the other, but only one was visible at a time, and at last he exclaimed to Eli, 'Well, you're the smartest man I ever saw; but why do you keep putting on and taking off your coat?' These brothers and several other men were in the habit of getting up very early and going to swim in the 'Reservoir Pond,' and once Eli going, as was his wont, to Nathan's house to call him by tapping on the pane, saw his own face reflected from the glass, and taking it for his brother, called out, 'Come on, they're all waiting for you.'"

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—INDISPUTABLE REMEDIES.—In the use of these medicines there need be no hesitation or doubt of their cooling, healing, and purifying properties. The ointment stands unrivalled for the facility it displays in relieving, healing, and thoroughly curing the most inveterate sores and ulcers, and in the cases of bad legs and bad breasts they act as a charm. The pills are the most effectual remedies ever discovered for the cure of liver complaints, diseases most disastrous in their effects, deranging all the proper functions of the organs infected, inducing restlessness, weariness, melancholy, inability to sleep, and pain in the side, until the whole system is exhausted. These wonderful Pills, if taken according to the printed directions accompanying each box, strike at the root of the malady, stimulate the stomach and liver into a healthy action, and effect a complete cure.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

BIRTH.

MIRAMS.—Dec. 4, at Dunedin, New Zealand, the wife of Mr. William Mirams (clerk), of a son.

MARRIAGES.

ALVEY—BUTCHER.—March 13, at the Congregational Church, Rotherham, by the Rev. P. C. Barker, M.A., LL.B., Mr. William Alvey, to Mary, youngest daughter of Mr. John Butcher, Henley Grove, Mablethorpe.

BIGGS—HOLLAND.—March 16, at Little Portland-street Chapel, by the Rev. W. H. Channing, Arthur Worthington, fourth son of William Biggs, formerly M.P. for Newport, to Catherine Elizabeth, third daughter of the late Charles Holland, of Liscard Vale, Cheshire, and niece of Samuel Holland, M.P. for Merionethshire.

DEATHS.

AYLOTT.—March 11, Mr. William Aylott, late of No. 3, Paternoster-row, and Islington, London, 73.

BATER.—March 8, at Taunton, Faith, the beloved wife of Mr. W. Bater, and mother of the Rev. S. Bater, of Bishop's Hall, Somerset.

KITCHENER.—March 12, at her residence, 48, Mildmay-park, Susanna, relict of Robinson John Kitchener, Esq.

SHAW.—March 10, at his residence, Litchfield Cottage, Ballintemple, Cork, the Rev. Samuel Shaw, aged 71.

TYRRE.—March 3, at Stepney, Mrs. Tyrre, wife of the Rev. Alexander Tyrre, for many years missionary in Surat, India, aged 82.

WELLS.—March 10, at Loughborough-park, Brixton, Mr. James Wells, forty-two years prior of the Baptist church, Surrey Tabernacle, Walworth-road, aged 69.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, March 13.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued £37,263,085 Government Debt £11,015,100
Other Securities 3,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion 22,263,085
Silver Bullion

£37,263,085 £37,263,085

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietor's Capital £14,553,000 Government Securities, (inc. dead weight annuity) £18,963,444
Reserve .. 3,698,198
Public Deposits .. 18,112,900
Other Deposits .. 18,414,965
Savings Bank .. 12,974,425
Other Bills .. 331,732
Gold & Silver Coin .. 831,180
£50,170,697 £50,170,697
March 14, 1872. GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

GOOD VALUE FOR MONEY is desired by all, but with articles that cannot be judged of by appearance, careful purchasers rely on the high standing of those with whom they deal. For thirty years, Horniman's Pure Teas in packets have given general satisfaction, being exceedingly strong, of uniform good quality, and truly cheap. (2,538 Agents are appointed.)

BREKFAST.—EPPE'S COCOA.—(GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING).—By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected coconos, Mr. Eppe has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately-flavoured beverage which may save us many doctors' bills.—Civil Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled.—James Eppe & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London. Also, makers of Eppe's Cacaoine, a very thin beverage for evening use.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, March 18.

We had a small supply of Edgish wheat this morning, but the market is freely supplied from abroad. With a continuance of fine weather, the trade continues very inactive, and we quote a decline of 1s. per qr. on English as well as foreign wheat since Monday last. Flour was dull and rather lower. Peas, beans, and Indian corn were without alteration. Barley barely supported last week's rates, the arrivals being liberal. The inquiry for oats was slow, and prices have further given way 6d. per qr. during the past week. Cargoes on the coast meet a limited demand at the late decline.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red.	— to —	— to —
Do. new.	50 to 55	— to —
White.	— to —	— to —
Do. new.	56 to 60	— to —
Foreign red.	55 to 58	— to —
Do. white.	57 to 58	— to —
BARLEY—		
English malting.	29 to 31	— to —
Chevalier.	36 to 41	— to —
Distilling.	29 to 33	— to —
Foreign.	28 to 31	— to —
MALT—		
Pale.	— to —	— to —
Chevalier.	— to —	— to —
Brown.	51 to 56	— to —
BEANS—		
Ticks.	31 to 32	— to —
Harrow.	33 to 35	— to —
Small.	— to —	— to —
Egyptian.	31 to 32	— to —
PEAS—		
Grey.	32 to 33	— to —
Maple.	36 to 38	— to —
White.	36 to 40	— to —
Boilers.	36 to 40	— to —
Foreign.	36 to 40	— to —
RYE—	36 to 38	— to —
OATS—		
English feed.	21 to 24	— to —
Do. potato.	26 to 32	— to —
Scotch feed.	— to —	— to —
Do. potato.	— to —	— to —
Irish Black.	18 to 20	— to —
White.	18 to 21	— to —
Foreign feed.	16 to 18	— to —
FLOUR—		
Town made.	45 to 50	— to —
Best country.	— to —	— to —
Households.	40 to 44	— to —
Norfolk & Suffolk.	37 to 38	— to —

BREAD, Monday, March 18.—The prices in the Metropolitan are, for Wheat Bread, per 4 lbs. loaf, 7d. to 8d.; Household Bread, 6d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, March 18.—The total imports of foreign stock into London

last week amounted to 16,614 head. In the corresponding week in 1871 we received 7,278; in 1870, 7,177; in 1869, 15,722; and in 1868, 4,555 head. A fair amount of business has been noticed in the cattle trade to-day. The supply has been rather larger, and some fair condition animals have been on sale. The demand has not been active, but a fair amount of steadiness has nevertheless prevailed. The best Scots and crosses have been disposed of at 5s. 4d. to 5s. 6d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,500 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England about 250 various breeds; from Scotland 120 Scots and crosses, and from Ireland 100 oxen. Rather larger supplies of sheep have been on sale. There has been less animation in the trade for all descriptions, and the tendency of prices has been in favour of buyers. The best downs and half-breeds in the wool have made 7s. 2d. to 7s. 4d., ditto shorn, 6s. to 6s. 2d. per 8lbs. Lambs have been scarce and dear. Calves have been in moderate request, and pigs have sold at about late rates.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.										
s. d. s. d.					s. d. s. d.					
Inf. coarse beasts	3	2	to	3	10	Pr. coarse woolled	6	8	7	0
Second quality	4	4	4	6		Prime Southdown	7	2	7	4
Prime large oxen	4	8	5	2		Lge coarse calves	4	6	5	2
Prime Scots	5	4	5	6		Prime small	5	4	6	0
Coarse inf. sheep	4	8	5	4		Large hogs	3	8	4	4
Second quality	5	8	6	4		Neat sm. porkers	4	6	5	0

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, March 18.—A moderate supply of meat has been on sale. For all qualities the trade has been steady, at our quotations. The imports into London last week consisted of 15 packages from Harlingen, and 1,532 packages, 128 quarters from Hamburg.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.											
	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.				
Inferior beef	3	4	to	3	8	Middling do.	4	10	to	5	2
Middling do.	3	10	to	4	0	Prime do.	5	6	to	6	0
Prime large do.	4	4	to	4	6	Large pork	3	8	to	4	4
Prime small do.	4	8	to	4	10	Small do.	4	6	to	5	0
Veal	5	4	to	6	0	Lamb	8	8	to	9	4
Inferior Mutton	4	4	to	4	8						

PROVISIONS, Monday, March 18.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 266 firkins butter and 8,498 bales bacon; and from foreign ports 15,517 packages butter, and 719 bales and 33 boxes bacon. There has been no alteration to notice in the Irish butter market; all holders are anxious to clear out their stocks. Foreign butter has declined about 8s. to 10s. per cwt. with a slow demand. The bacon market has ruled firm during the past week, and prices of best Irish advanced 2s. per cwt. Hamburg remains without alteration in prices.

HOPS.—BOROUGH, Monday, March 18.—There is no material change to notice in our market. Slightly more inquiry has been noticeable during the latter part of the week for the last growth, but no important transactions have been reported; prices continue depressed. Yearlings and olds attract no attention. A slight inquiry prevails for the Alsat and Poperinghe hops, both of which are firm in price. Mid and East Kent, 10l. 10s., 12l. 12s., to 17l.; Weald, 8l. 10s., 9l. 9s., to 10l. 10s.; Sussex, 7l. 15s., 8l. 8s., to 9l. 9s.; Farnham and country, 11l. 11s., 13l. to 16l. Yearlings—Mid and East Kent, 3l. 4l. 4s., to 6l. 10s.; Weald of Kent, 3l. 4l. to 5l. 15s.; Sussex, 3l. 3l. 10s., to 5l. 5s.; Farnham and country, 6l. to 7l.; Old, 14 5s., 11 10s., to 2l.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, March 18.—The markets are well supplied with potatoes. The trade has been quiet, at about late rates. The imports into London last week consisted of 184 sacks, 110 tons from Dunkirk, 8 cases from Oporto, 140 bags from Boulogne, and 10 from Hamburg. Regents, 70s. to 120s. per ton; Rocks, 70s. to 85s. per ton; Flukes, 100s. to 150s. per ton; Victorias, 100s. to 120s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, March 18.—English cloverseed was in limited supply. Choice qualities of red brought high prices, but secondary sorts could be bought on lower terms. The finest American realised as much money, but inferior qualities were offered on lower terms. Holders of Trefoil were anxious sellers. The finest new could be bought lower—secondary qualities at reduced prices. Old samples were offered at much under the rates of new. White and brown mustardseeds were held on former terms, but not much passing in either sort. Fine parcels of English rapeseed, for sowing, were very dear. Canaryseed and large Dutch hempseed were fully as dear, but other sorts were sold on lower terms. Spring tares, being abundant, could be bought at reduced rates.

WOOL, Monday, March 18.—A moderate business has been doing in all descriptions of wool. The choice qualities have commanded the larger share of attention, but other sorts have been less steady; prices have ruled firm.

OIL, Monday, March 18.—Lined oil has been quiet, at drooping prices. Rape has changed hands quietly. Other oils have been dull.

TALLOW, Monday, March 18.—The market has been quiet. Y.C., spot, new 59s., old, 47s. per cwt. Town tallow, 41s. net cash.

Advertisements.

GROVER AND BAKER'S

DOUBLE-LOCK AND ELASTIC STITCH

SEWING MACHINES,

Long acknowledged as

THE BEST,

Are now also

THE CHEAPEST.

THE NEW HAND MACHINES

Are superior to all others.

GROVER AND BAKER,

150, REGENT ST., LONDON, W.; 59, BOLD ST., LIVERPOOL; and 101, SAUCHIEHALL ST., GLASGOW.

Every Machine guaranteed. Instruction gratis.

Illustrated Prospectus and Samples of Work sent post free.

STAMMERING CURED by Mr. W. L. MURRAY HAMILTON, H.M. Civil Service formerly a sufferer from the defect. Interview by appointment.—Streatham-place, Brixton-hill, London, S.W.

HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION,

Matlock Bank, continues to be carried on by Mr. and Mrs. SMEDLEY and a Resident Hydropathic Physician, M.D.C.M. The most extensive Saloons and large, airy bedrooms in the kingdom; private drawing-rooms and dining-rooms, and private sitting-rooms, connected with bedrooms; splendid views; equal temperature throughout winter and summer. Charges less than other large Establishments. Prospectus free by post.

CHLORALUM. An odourless, non-poisonous disinfectant. The saline antiseptic. Harmless as common salt.

15, Pembroke-road, Dublin,

11th September, 1871.

Sir,—I beg to state that the chloralum powder and solution have been largely employed in this city, and with the most complete success.

The bed of the River Liffey, which emitted a very offensive odour during the recent warm weather, was most satisfactorily disinfected by chloralum powder at the rate of only one pound per 25 square feet.

I have found it most efficacious as a purifier of stables, and I use it constantly in my own house. Altogether, I may say of chloralum that it is a very valuable sanitary agent, and one which is certain to come into general use.

I remain, your obedient servant,

CHAS. A. CAMERON, M.D.

Professor of Hygiene, Royal College of Surgeons, and Analyst of the City of Dublin.

CHLORALUM IS DISINFECTANT.

CHLORALUM IS A SALINE ANTISEPTIC.

CHLORALUM IS ASTRINGENT.

CHLORALUM is sold in quarts, 2s.; pints, 1s.; half-pints, 6d. By the gallon, 5s. In large quantities by special contract at greatly-reduced prices.

CHLORALUM FOR CHOLERA.

CHLORALUM FOR SICK ROOMS.

CHLORALUM POWDER.

CHLORALUM POWDER IS HARMLESS.

CHLORALUM POWDER.—The best stable disinfectant Chloralum Powder will be found invaluable in—

Hospitals	Cowsheds
Closets and Ill-Ventilated	Alleys and Roads
Earth Closets	Sewers and Gulleys
Stables	In the Dairy and all kinds of
Wine and Beer Cellars	Dustbins
Stables	Provision Stores
	In the Kennel, and in Poultry-
	houses

Chloralum Powder is not caustic or hurtful in any way, and although it absorbs moisture, it does not deteriorate by keeping.

Casks, 1 cwt., for 15s., and in 6d. and 1s. packets.

CHLORALUM WOOL.

CHLORALUM WOOL IN SURGERY.

CHLORALUM WOOL IN HOSPITALS.

CHLORALUM WOOL.—The New Styptic and Antiseptic Surgical Dressing. In pound and half-pound packages, at 6s. per lb.

CHLORALUM WADDING.—CHLORALUM WADDING, in sheets, price 2s. 6d.

Chloralum Wadding is used extensively as a disinfectant in coffins. A dead body, when covered with Chloralum Wool, cannot convey infection.

CHLORALUM IS SOLD BY ALL CHYMISTS.

CHLORALUM CO.—1 and 2, Great Winchester-street buildings, E.C.

BRITISH and FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The COMMITTEE are desirous of ENGAGING the services of a Gentleman as AGENT for MEXICO, &c. Unexceptionable Christian character, active habits, business aptitude, and command of the Spanish language, are indispensable.—Application to be made, by letter, to the Secretaries, at the Society's Offices, Queen Victoria-street, Blackfriars, E.C.

BIRMINGHAM MARRIAGE LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Ministers who have not yet signed the Ministers' Petition to the House of Lords and the Memorial to Mr. Gladstone, are earnestly requested to return the Forms they have received, signed, without delay, to Mr. Councilor Payton, Marriage Law Reform Association, Birmingham.

THE LONDON INFIRMARY

for DISEASES of the LEGS, Ulcers, Varicose Veins, &c., 1, Red Lion-square, W.C. Established in 1857, under the distinguished patronage of Miss Florence Nightingale, and many members of the aristocracy.

President—His Grace the Duke of BEAUFORT, P.C., K.G.

The ordinary income of this important and useful Charity is much below its current expenditure, and, but for the kind and generous help of those who have sent donations, the wards for in-patients would have been necessarily closed.

These diseases prevail very extensively among the industrious poor, and this is the only hospital in the United Kingdom where such cases are specially treated.

This valuable institution has no endowment, and is dependent entirely upon benevolent support.

CONTRIBUTIONS are therefore earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received by Messrs. Coutts and Co., the Bankers; or by the Treasurer, Thomas Westlake, Esq., 1, Red Lion-square, W.C.

NATIONAL INSTITUTION for DISEASES of the SKIN.

Physician—Dr. BARR MEADOWS.

Patients attend at 227, Gray's-inn-road, King's-cross, on Mondays and Thursdays, and at 10, Mitre-street, Aldgate, on Wednesdays and Fridays. Mornings at Ten; Evenings, Six till Nine.

Average number of cases under treatment, 1,000 weekly.

THOMAS ROBINSON, Hon. Sec.

APPRENTICESHIP SOCIETY.

The next HALF-YEARLY ELECTION will take place at 18, SOUTH-STREET, FINSBURY, on TUESDAY, March 26th, 1872.
The Poll will commence at Eleven o'clock, and close at Twelve precisely.

I. VALE MUMMERY, } Hon. Sec.
W. WELLS KILPIN, }

DR. WILLIAMS'S SCHOLARSHIPS in the UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Dr. Williams's Trustees announce THREE VACANCIES during the present year.
Intending Candidates can obtain information as to Subjects of examination, &c., by communicating with the Rev. THOMAS HUNTER, at the Library, 8, Queen-square, Bloomsbury, London.

MILL HILL SCHOOL, MIDDLESEX.

HEAD MASTER—

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